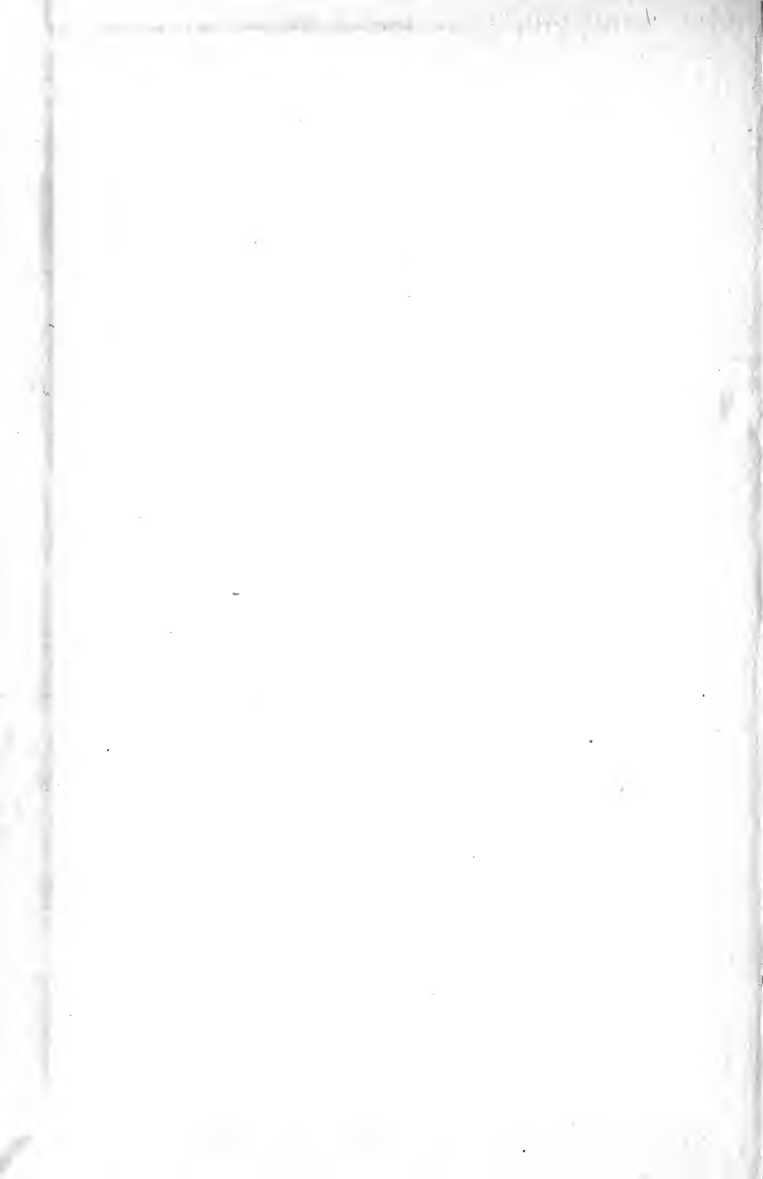
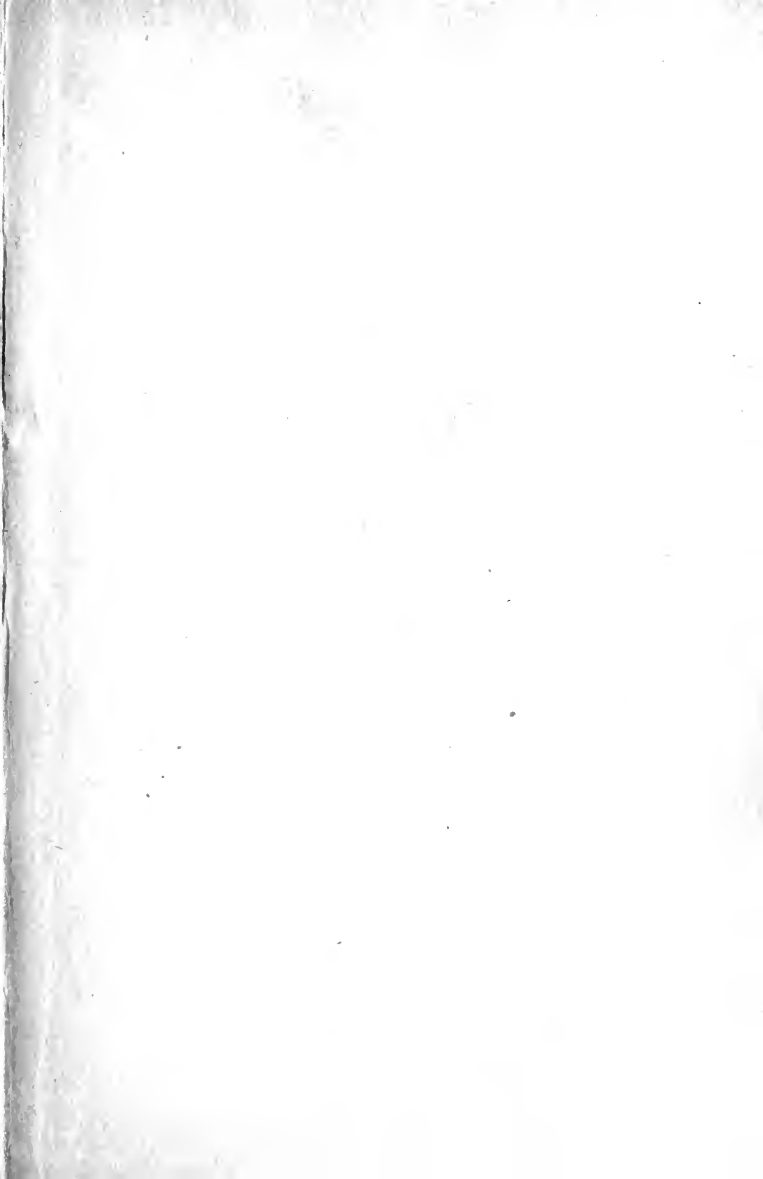


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HEBREW TENSES

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~~DESCRIPTIVE~~
Clarendon Press Series

A TREATISE
ON
THE USE OF THE TENSES
IN HEBREW

AND SOME OTHER SYNTACTICAL QUESTIONS

BY

S. R. DRIVER, M.A.

Fellow of New College, Oxford

SECOND EDITION
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P R E F A C E .

THE present small volume was designed originally as an attempt to supply what had for long appeared to me to be needed in England by the student of Hebrew—a systematic exposition, upon an adequate scale, of the nature and use of the Hebrew tenses. The subject is an important one, and is beset by many and peculiar difficulties. In Hebrew, as in most other inflexional languages, the verb is a flexible and elastic instrument, the smallest movement of which alters the character of the scene or fact which it portrays; and hence, without a vivid sense of the difference between its principal parts, the full power and beauty of the language can be but imperfectly appreciated. At the same time, Hebrew has but two tenses at its disposal: each of these therefore has practically to cover the ground occupied in an Aryan language by half a dozen or more distinct formations, every one denoting a fresh relation of time or mood. With an instrument of such limited resources, it might be expected that insuperable difficulties would arise: but such is the skill with which it is handled, that to the reader who has mastered the principles of its use, and perceives it to be

regulated by law, the ceaseless variation of tense, instead of being a cause of confusion, will seem a most telling and expressive feature. Indeed the capacity for rapid transitions thus produced constitutes an element of force almost peculiar to Hebrew: and though doubtless there are passages on which some degree of uncertainty must rest, the conditions imposed by the context, interpreted in the light of parallel constructions, will usually reduce it within narrow limits.

There are, however, many obstacles to be overcome before the true nature of the tenses can be realized. In the first place there is the influence of our own language. This has been familiar to us from childhood; it constitutes the framework of our thoughts; it has determined for us the forms under which ideas present themselves to our mind; it has impressed upon us its own distinctions and lines of demarcation, at the same time silently ignoring those established by other languages. On the agreement of a verb with its subject in number, a point to which in certain cases the ancient Hebrew attached no importance whatever, we are ourselves sensitive and precise: on the other hand, the difference between *being* and *becoming*, *seyn* and *werden*, εἶμι and γίγνομαι has never been fully appropriated or naturalized in English. Accordingly 'I am convinced' has to do duty for πείθομαι as well as for πέπεισμαι, for 'ich werde überzeugt' as well as for 'ich bin überzeugt'; ἔπειθον differs indeed essentially from ἔπεισα, but so cumbersome is the mechanism which has to be set in motion in order to express the difference, so palpable is the strain to which our language is subjected in the process, that we feel irresistibly tempted to discard and forget it. Similarly, on the distinction of tense, which in Hebrew is funda-

mental, English, except in the more obvious cases, is comparatively indifferent: and thus we are predisposed to underrate its importance, if not to neglect it altogether.

Secondly, there are the intrinsic difficulties offered by the language itself. Each tense, and particularly the imperfect, seems to unite in itself incompatible meanings, which the reader too often finds resist all his efforts to reconcile with one another, or to derive from a common origin; and the complications superinduced when either is brought within range of the potent but mysterious *waw*, increase his perplexity. And yet it is impossible, so long as language is the reflex and embodiment of reason, that anomalies such as these can be ultimate and inexplicable: some hidden link of connexion must exist, some higher principle must be sought for, the discovery of which will place us at the true centre of vision, and permit the confused and incoherent figures to fall into their proper perspective and become consistent and clear. The difficulties arising from the sources here indicated I had felt forcibly myself, as well as the practical inability to surmount them with the aids usually available by the student; and this treatise was designed in the hope that, whether by contributing towards their solution, or by directing attention to what might otherwise pass unobserved, it might promote, if possible, an intelligent appreciation of the language of the Old Testament. The favourable notice which it has received, both on the Continent and in England, has much exceeded what I had ventured to anticipate; and I have reason to believe that there are many students of Hebrew who have derived material assistance from it.

In the present edition, several of the sections have been

re-written or re-arranged (in particular §§ 39, 72, 75, 76, 123, 161, 172-175); most of the references have been revised, doubtful or erroneous ones as far as possible removed, and the number, where it seemed needlessly large, sometimes reduced. At the same time the original design has been somewhat enlarged; and it has been my aim to produce a trustworthy manual, which may be of service as a supplement to the grammars ordinarily used by learners. A chapter on the Participle has been added, as well as two fresh Appendices, one treating of an important principle of Hebrew syntax (Apposition), which has not generally received the prominence that it deserves¹, and the other considering two or three further questions which seemed to offer scope for fresh illustration. Occasionally also I have not hesitated to introduce a short note in explanation of a difficult or peculiar idiom: here, however, a reference to Ewald's syntax, which now, I am glad to see, is accessible in English², has frequently been sufficient. If some points have been dwelt on too diffusely or repeatedly, I must crave the reader's indulgence: experience shews that there are departments of Hebrew syntax in which inexactness and looseness of thought so speedily creep in that it is impossible to be too explicit and particular.

In the selection of proof-passages my object has been to illustrate and distinguish the varieties of Biblical usage, as accurately as possible: but it will of course be understood that there are cases in which a different opinion

¹ I allude naturally to the smaller grammars. See, however, Aug. Müller's *Schulgrammatik*, §§ 443, 468-470.

² *Ewald's Hebrew Syntax*, translated by J. Kennedy (Edinb. 1879).

may legitimately be held respecting either the construction generally, or the precise force of a given tense. To the student who may be interested in tracing a particular use, the number of examples will not probably appear excessive; and others also may be glad sometimes to have the opportunity of judging for themselves how far an alleged custom extends, whether it is really common or only exceptional¹. Moreover, a rule is more firmly grasped

¹ In spite of the claims advanced in the Preface, it is often unsafe to accept statements from the *Speaker's Commentary* without independent verification. Surely, for instance, Hebrew scholars who declare themselves prepared to deal with subjects involving 'deep learning,' might be expected to know that the 3rd pl. pret., instead of 'frequently' in the Pent. ending in ון- (i. p. 18), occurs so but thrice in the entire O.T., that *Elohim* cannot be derived from 'אֱלֹהִים' (p. 24), that לאמר is not a 'very exceptional (!) phrase' (supplementary foot-note on Gen. 2, 3), that no addition of a syllable could explain the origin of יהוֹשֻׁעַ out of הוֹשֻׁעַ, and that neither אלהי Ex. 3, 15, nor שרי Deut. 20, 9, nor בני Josh. 10, 12 (ii. p. 56), or 1 Chr. 10, 2 could be provided with the article. Naturally also inaccuracies of this kind do not stand alone: see e.g. the notes on Ex. 1, 13. 15. 2, 18 (p. 260: two different words confused). 25. 3, 2. 19. 4, 13. 5, 16. 6, 20. 9, 28. 11, 1 (p. 291). 12, 36 etc. With respect to the argument derived from the alleged existence of Egyptian words in the Pent. (i. pp. 244, 488), this is not the place to examine it in detail: but it may be remarked that the lists are compiled in disregard of the requisite philological precautions: not only are irrelevant and inconclusive instances intermixed, but no attempt is made to explain, for example, how words naturalized in the language, and used e.g. by Isaiah or the historians generally, can constitute a criterion of the place of composition, or to shew that words with Egyptian affinities—real or supposed—decidedly preponderate in the Pentateuch (Brugsch, at any rate, in his *Dict. Hiér.* notices many occurring elsewhere: comp. also Ebers, *Aeg. u. die Bücher Mose's*, p. 44 f.). And those who are at the pains to *verify* the lists will find

when it has been seen repeatedly exemplified: and (as has been observed) it may even happen that, in virtue of the common point of view attained by the comparison of numerous instances, passages and constructions appear for the first time in their true light. Another advantage is on the side of textual criticism. On the one hand, an isolated expression, which perhaps excited suspicion, may be justified by parallels thus discovered: on the other, it may be shewn to conflict with some principle established by an extensive induction, to presuppose a signification at variance with the *consistent* usage of the language. Certainly, it is the province of the grammarian to explain (if possible), and not to emend; but in the latter case, a consideration of the text is forced upon him. Instances will be furnished from time to time by the following pages; though I have not always felt it incumbent upon me to inquire into the textual accuracy of particular citations.

that they are described in terms calculated to create an impression at variance with the facts: thus, on p. 244, 'most' means in reality some 10-12 out of 48, and of the words collected pp. 488-490 nearly, if not quite, half in no respect answer to the description with which they are introduced. Indications of an acquaintance with Egypt, as Knobel and Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*) have pointed out, are indeed revealed in the narrative of the Exodus: but in the *language*—including even the construction of שרץ (p. 488)—there is nothing inconsistent with the authorship of a resident in Palestine.

The common opinion, it may be worth adding, that the use of איה as a *fem.* in the Pentateuch is an archaism, cannot, in face of a comparison of the cognate languages, be philologically sustained. Nöldeke's remark to this effect (ZDMG. 1866, p. 458 f.: comp. 1878, p. 594) has recently been unreservedly accepted by Delitzsch: though how the last-named scholar accounts himself for the anomaly must be read in his article in the new *Zeitsch. für Kirchliche Wissenschaft u. Kirchliches Leben*, i, p. 393 ff.

My obligations to previous writers were indicated in the Preface to the first edition. It will be sufficient here to say that, while Gesenius is still unsurpassed as a lexicographer¹, Ewald by his originality and penetration was the founder of a new era in the study of Hebrew grammar; and there is probably no modern Hebraist who is not, directly or indirectly, indebted to him. In the treatment of details, Ewald was indeed liable to be arbitrary and inattentive; but he excelled in the power of grouping the broader features of language, and of recognizing the principles which underlie and explain its phenomena. From the numerous exegetical works of Hitzig (of whose life and character a genial sketch, marred only by the too profuse praises of an admirer, has recently appeared²) all may learn: when he is not led astray by a vein of misplaced subtlety—always, happily, visible on the surface—no one has a clearer or truer perception of the meaning of a Hebrew sentence. The few lines which Delitzsch devotes to his memory, in the Preface to the second edition of *Hiob*, p. vi, are a graceful and cordial testimony to his exegetical skill. And by sobriety, fulness of information, and scholarship combined Delitzsch has succeeded in making his commentaries³ indispensable to every student of the

¹ The speculative character of Fürst's philological principles and the boldness with which he puts them to a practical use, render his *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* an untrustworthy guide.

² *Dr. Ferd. Hitzig's Vorlesungen über Bibl. Theologie*, herausgegeben von J. J. Kneucker (Karlsruhe, 1880): pp. 1-64.

³ The reader who makes use of the English translations should recollect that the later German editions, e. g. of Job (1876), Isaiah (1879), contain much additional matter. The commentary on Genesis (ed. 4, 1872) is still untranslated.

Old Testament. Lastly, the gigantic *Lehrbuch* of Friedrich Böttcher, a monument of industry and invaluable for purposes of reference, though it comprises the accidence only, has also been of service to me¹. Among the reviews to which the present edition is indebted must be named in particular one by Professor Aug. Müller², to which I have several times alluded. Nor can I omit to thank Mr. Turner, the author of *Studies Biblical and Oriental* (Edinb. 1876), for the notice which he has taken of this work in his Essay *On the Tenses of the Hebrew Verb*: the clear and valuable account given by him of the different views that have been held respecting their structure makes me the more regret that I cannot follow him in his treatment of the Use of the Forms (p. 388), which does not appear to me to rest upon a sufficiently wide induction of facts. I trust, in conclusion, that the eminent scholars to whom reference is made in §§ 178, 186 ff. will pardon me if I have taken an undue liberty in introducing some of their results to the English-speaking public.

S. R. D.

Christmas, 1880.

¹ At the time when my first edition was published, I was not acquainted with the grammar of Taco Roorda (*Grammatica Hebraea*, Lugd. Bat. 1831-33), whose syntax, abounding in examples, displays an exact and extensive observation of the language of the Old Testament. I may be allowed here to mention two monographs, of some interest, that have recently appeared: Fr. Giesebrecht, *Die Hebr. Praeposition Lamed* (Halle, 1876), and C. V. Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchi Sermone* (Lipsiae, 1878), the latter embracing much more than its title might suggest, and being in fact a survey of the principal forms and constructions in use at different periods in the history of the language.

² *Zeitschrift für Luth. Theologie*, 1877, p. 198.

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ADDENDA.

Page 8, l. 3. If the 3 pl. *perf.* in וַיְהִי - be really old, it is remarkable that it is not found more frequently in O.T. (Deut. 8, 3, 16. Isa. 26, 16 only). Elsewhere, it occurs (Nöld., *Mand. Gramm.* p. 223) 'in Mandaic, Syriac, the Jerus. Talm., the Palest. Targums, the *Rabboth*, and the Christian-Palestinian dialect' of the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*, published by Miniscalchi Erizzo; but mostly quite as an exceptional form. Examples: from Syriac, Acts 28, 2 **ܡܢܫܐ** (see also Hoffmann, § 53. 3; Merx, *Gramm. Syr.* p. 333; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* § 158 D. 176 E); from Targ., Ps. 77, 17 רַחֲמֵינוּ. 78, 58 אֲקַנּוּן. 106, 11. 20 שְׂרִיגוֹן. 107, 24. 30; from Samaritan, Gen. 19, 2 וַאֲמַרְוּ (also the imper. וּבִיתוֹן. 3 וַאֲכַלּוּן. 32, 23. In the *Ev. Hier.* there are two instances (ZDMG. xxii. p. 491), **ܡܢܫܐ** and **ܡܢܫܐ**.

Page 9 n. and Chap. III. Dietrich, observing that the use of the impf. after וַיְהִי points to the idea of *relatedness* or *dependency* as that fundamentally implied by the tense, arranges its different significations as follows:—

I. As expressing an action which is conceived as relative to a ground contained in the subject, it denotes

(1) The *possible*,—‘*can* or *will* the reed grow without water?’

(2) The *necessary*,—whether (α) in positive commands or prohibitions, or (β) in commands imposed by custom (*may* not . . . , *must* not . . .), or (γ) in general truths, when they are regarded not as merely conclusions from experience (in which case they are denoted by the *perf.*), but as *conditioned*, i. e. as issuing by a natural necessity from the constitution or character of the subject,—e. g. ‘a wise son *will* gladden his father’ (a ‘Nichtanderskönnen,’ p. 102).

(3) A purpose or design.

[In 1 and 2 the ground lies in the relation of the action to its subject, in 3 it lies in the *will* of the subject alone.]

Under each of these heads the transition to the simple future sense is evidently easy.

II. As expressing an action which is conceived as relative to an *external* ground—to some other action or circumstance with which it appears in connexion, the impf. is used:—

(1) To express a *consequence*, assumed conditionally, whether possible or not; so, for example, in the apodosis.

(2) After a final conjunction.

(3) To attach some fresh event to the time in which the occasion for it lay: this explains its use after κα , and $\cdot\eta$.

§ 21. The connexion between the ideas of *incipiency* and *reiteration* may be illustrated by the use of the element -σκ- in Greek, which in words like $\gammaηράσκω$, $\etaβάσκω$ (cf. *senesco*, *pubesco*, *cresco*, etc.), possesses an inchoative force, while in the Homeric and Ionic forms $\nuαιετάασκε$, $\epsilonἶπεσκε$, $\epsilonλάσασκε$, etc., it appears as an affix expressing iteration. 'The gradual realization and the repetition of an action are regarded by language as nearly akin' (Curtius, *Elucidations*, p. 143): $\epsilonἶπεσκε$, then, meaning properly 'he was on the point of saying,' very quickly becomes 'he would or used to say.'

In most of the verbs ending in -σκω , the original inchoative force is no longer traceable at all, in others it is only traceable after reflection, e. g. in $\gammaιγνώσκω$, $\muμνήσκω$, $\thetaνήσκω$, $\sigmaτερίσκω$ —another example of a form preserved by language, even after its distinctive meaning had been lost. Cf. Curtius, *Das Griech. Verbum*, i. 269, 285.

§ 62, p. 79, l. 3. Add, after כי , Jer. 9, 11. Hos. 14, 10. Ps. 107, 43. Elsewhere, in answer to . . . כי , we find the simple impf., or the imperative: Ex. 24, 14. Isa. 50, 8. 54, 15. Judg. 7, 3 al.; Ex. 32, 24 (see also 26, 33). Ps. 34, 13 f.; 1 Sam. 11, 12.

§ 82 *Obs.* The verbs in Joel 2, 18 f. are most naturally understood as descriptive of what ensued after the delivery of the prophecy 1, 2—2, 17, the past time, of which they are the continuation, being that which is *implied* in 1, 1. Mic. 3, 1 אמר (which historically can only be attached to 1, 1). Jer. 11, 5^b ואמץ ואמר (following similarly v. 1). 14, 11. 34, 6 are closely parallel, and meet the grammatical objection raised by Dr. Pusey (*Min. Proph.* pp. 96, 122), which derives its force from the supposition that the verbs in question must be in continuation of the tenses *immediately* preceding. The form which Dr. Pusey's objection assumes in the *Speaker's Comm.* needs no refutation. The past sense is adopted, not only by Ewald and Hitz., but also by Delitzsch (in his article on Joel in the *Luth. Zeitsch.* 1851, p. 306), and Keil (ad loc.), without hesitation.

Page 198, l. 2. Add Ezek. 8, 6. 2 Sam. 15, 27.

§§ 136—138. In A.V. *then* of the apodosis represents almost always

a Hebrew ו, not וּ, which is found only very rarely, where a special emphasis is desired, as Isa. 58, 14. Prov. 2, 5. Job 9, 31.

§ 153. 1 Sam. 25, 29, if the text be correct, seems to present a combination of the principle of this section with that of § 149—'and hath man risen up to pursue thee . . . then be (§ 119 δ) the soul of my lord bound up,' etc. But וקם is what we should naturally expect.

Page 232 n. Add Isa. 33, 1 *lit.* when thou finishest as a devastator; Gen. 3, 8 מַחֲהִיךְ, with Delitzsch's note.

Page 235, § 163 *Obs.* A close parallel to Job 32, 22 is afforded by $\text{لَا يَبْصُرُ لِنَا لِحَدِّ}$, cited by Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* § 267.

CORRIGENDA

- Page 11, l. 9, for Kautsch read Kautzsch
 „ 13, l. 11, for *in Verbum* read *und Verbum*
 „ 28, l. 9, for X read XI
 „ 64, § 50 *Obs.*, l. 5, *dele* 18, 46
 „ 96, l. 3 from bottom. As Professor H. L. Strack reminds me, there are two exceptions, p. 62, n. 2.
 „ 100, l. 8, for 45 read 35
 „ 112, last line, for 29 read 28
 „ 174, last line, for 27 read 29
 „ 179, l. 2. 2 Chr. 13, 9 would have been better placed, p. 180, l. 6.
 „ 180, l. 1, for 6 read 5
 „ 202, l. 12, for *guideth* read *girdeth*
 „ 205, § 136 δ *Obs.*, omit Amos 7, 2 (see § 133).
 „ 210, § 142, l. 8, for 18 read 13
 „ 232, § 161, l. 6, for 27 read 26

ON THE USE OF THE TENSES IN HEBREW.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

1. THE Hebrew language, in striking contrast to the classical languages in which the development of the verb is so rich and varied, possesses only two of those modifications which are commonly termed 'tenses.' These tenses were formerly known by the familiar names of *past* and *future*, but inasmuch as the so-called *past* tense is continually used to describe events in the future, and the so-called *future* tense to describe events in the past, it is clear that these terms, adapted from languages cast in a totally different mould from the Hebrew and other Semitic tongues, are in the highest degree inappropriate and misleading. It will be better therefore to acquiesce in the names now generally employed by modern grammarians, and deduced from real and not fictitious or accidental characteristics of the two forms in question, and to call them by the terms *perfect* and *imperfect*¹ respectively.

¹ These words are of course employed in their etymological meaning, as signifying *complete* and *incomplete*: they must not be limited to the special senses they have acquired in Greek and Latin grammar.

2. For if we adopt these designations, we shall be continually reminded of the fundamental¹ character of the two 'tenses,' and be thereby enabled to discern a rational ground for such phenomena as those alluded to, § 1, which, especially to persons who are perhaps more familiar with the languages of modern or classical times, appear when approached for the first time so inexplicable, so contradictory, not to say so absurd. In order fully to understand this fundamental character, we shall have to revert to a distinction which, though not unknown in other languages, has not, until recent years, obtained from Hebrew grammarians the recognition and prominence which it deserves. I allude to the distinction between *order* of time and *kind* of time. In the first place, a particular verbal form may exhibit a given action as prior or subsequent to some date otherwise fixed by the narrative: this is a difference in the order of time. But, secondly, an action may be contemplated, according to the fancy of the speaker, or according to the particular point which he desires to make prominent, either as *incipient*², or as *continuing*, or as *completed*; the speaker may wish to lay stress upon the moment at which it begins, or upon the period

¹ It will appear hereafter that the term *imperfect* does not in strictness correspond to a primary but to a derived characteristic of the tense called by that name. Böttcher in his *Ausf. Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*, it must be admitted with greater precision, gives to the imperfect the name of *fiens*: but inasmuch as what is *incipient* is also necessarily *imperfect*, the latter term may be fairly held to express a fundamental attribute of the tense. No sufficient ground therefore seems to exist for abandoning the now usual nomenclature in favour of the new and peculiar term preferred by Böttcher.

² Or, viewed on the side of its subject, as *egressive*.

over which it extends, or upon the fact of its being finished and done : these are differences in the kind of time. Thus, for example, ἔπειθε and πείθει differ in the order or date, not in the kind of action specified : each alike expresses a continuous action, but the one throws it into the past, the other places it in the present. On the other hand, πείσαι and πείθειν, μὴ πείσης and μὴ πείθε differ in kind, not in date ; in each the date is equally indeterminate, but the aorist indicates a momentary act, the present one that is continuous. Now in Hebrew the tenses mark only differences in the kind of time, not differences in the order of time : i. e. they do not in themselves determine the *date* at which an action takes place, they only indicate its *character* or *kind*—the three phases just mentioned, those namely of incipency, continuance, and completion, being represented respectively by the imperfect, the participle, and the perfect¹.

3. Thus the ‘tenses’ in Hebrew, at least as regards what they do *not* express, are in their inmost nature radically distinct from what is commonly known in other languages by the same name : indeed they might almost more fitly be called *moods*². Certainly the difference between various

¹ The distinction here drawn between the two relations, under which every action may present itself, is also insisted on, and further illustrated, by G. Curtius, in his *Elucidations of Greek Grammar* (translated by Abbott), pp. 203–212.

² This is the designation employed by Ewald formerly, and by Hitzig still ; the perfect being spoken of as the *first mood*, the imperfect as the *second mood*. And in so far as each of the two forms in question seizes and gives expression to a particular phase of an action, ‘mood,’ suggestive as it is of the idea of *modification*, might seem the preferable term to adopt. Since, however, as we shall see, the

kinds of time is clearly marked in Greek: but then it exists side by side with a full recognition and expression of the other difference, which in our eyes is of paramount importance (as regards *kind* of time we are by no means sensitive), and which, nevertheless, Hebrew seems totally to disregard. And this is just the novelty with which we are here so struck,—the position occupied in the language by the one distinction it appreciates, with the consequences which follow from it; and the fact that Hebrew, unlike Greek and most other languages, possesses no forms specifically appropriated to indicate date, but meets the want which this deficiency must have occasioned by a subtle and unique application of the two forms expressive of kind. Only, inasmuch as obviously an action may be regarded under either of the three aspects named above, whether it belong to the past, the present, or the future—a writer may e. g. look upon a future event as so certain that he may prefer to speak of it in the perfect as though already *done*—an ambiguity will arise as to which of these periods it is to be referred to, an ambiguity which nothing but the context, and sometimes not even that, is able to remove. The tenses in Isa. 9, 5 are precisely identical with those in Gen. 21, 1–3: it is only the context which tells us that in the one case a series of events in the future, in the other one in the past is being described. On the other hand, יָרָא Ex. 33, 9 refers to the past, יָרָא Ex. 33, 9 refers to the past, יָרָא Ex. 33, 9 refers to the past, יָרָא Ex. 33, 9 refers to the past

Semitic languages developed for the imperfect special modal forms, which still exist in Hebrew, though not in the same perfection they exhibit in Arabic, and as it is convenient to have a separate name for the *genus*, of which these modal forms are the *species*, the more customary titles may be retained.

future, although the tense does not vary; and יסר שמה relating, 2 Kings 4, 8, to the future, is used in the next verse but one to describe what happened in the past.

4. This peculiarity, however, is only an extension of what meets us (say) in Greek. We are all familiar with the ineffaceable distinction between *ἐλάλησαν* (as Acts 16, 32) and *ἐλάλουν* (as 19, 6): we are apt to forget that a similar distinction may appertain to events in the future, as well as in the past. And, further, has not the *exact* date of both the actions quoted to be fixed from the context? Within what limits of time did the action *ἐλάλησαν* take place? and does *ἐλάλουν* signify 'they *used* to talk' (over a long period of time), or 'they *were* talking' (at the moment arrived at by the history, or when the writer came upon the scene), or 'they *began and continued* talking' (as consequent upon some occurrence previously described)? 'The imperfect,' it has been said, 'paints a scene:' true, but upon what part of the canvass? upon a part *determined by the whole picture*. And what has just been said we shall find to be pre-eminently true of the tenses as employed in Hebrew.

5. The tenses, then, in so far as they serve to fix the date of an action, have a relative not an absolute significance. It will, however, be evident that, since it is more usual, especially in prose, to regard a past event as completed, and a future event as uncompleted, the perfect will be commonly employed to describe the former, and the imperfect to describe the latter; but this distinction of usage is not maintained with sufficient uniformity to justify the retention of the old titles *past* and *future*, which will now clearly appear to express relations that are of only secondary importance, and only partially true.

It is, on the other hand, of the utmost consequence to understand and bear constantly in mind the fundamental and primary facts stated above: (1) that the Hebrew verb notifies the character without fixing the date of an action, and (2) that, of its two forms with which we have here more particularly to deal, one is calculated to describe an action as nascent and so as imperfect; the other to describe it as completed and so as perfect. Upon these two facts the whole theory of the tenses has to be constructed; and the latter fact, at any rate, will be most readily remembered by the use of terms which at once recall to the mind the distinction involved in it.

6. The use of the Hebrew tenses will be better understood and more thoroughly appreciated if we keep in mind some of the peculiarities by which Hebrew style, especially the poetical and prophetic style, is characterized. One such peculiarity is the singular ease and rapidity with which a writer *changes his standpoint*, at one moment speaking of a scene as though still in the remote future, at another moment describing it as though present to his gaze¹. Another characteristic is a love for variety and vividness in expression: so soon as the pure prose style is deserted, the writer, no longer contenting himself with a series of (say) perfects, diversifies his language in a manner which absolutely mocks any effort to reproduce it in a Western tongue; seizing each separate individual detail he invests it with a special character of its own—you see it perhaps emerging into the light, perhaps standing there with clearly-cut outline before you—and presents his readers with a picture of surpassing brilliancy and

¹ See especially, for example, Isaiah 24-27.

life. If now the reader is careful not to lose sight of what has been stated in this and the preceding section, he will no longer feel surprized or perplexed by the ceaseless change of tense which forms such a characteristic feature of Hebrew poetry : difficulties indeed and ambiguities will still remain, but these can only be overcome by an attentive study of the context and an accurate estimate of the sense which the *whole* passage appears intended to convey.

Obs. 1. With what has been said above, compare the opinion expressed, from a very independent point of view, by Bishop Pattenon:— ‘I wish some of our good Hebrew scholars were sound Poly- and Mela-nesian scholars also. I believe it to be quite true that the *mode of thought* of a South Sea islander resembles very closely that of a Semitic man. . . . The Hebrew narrative viewed from the Melanesian *point of thought* is wonderfully graphic and lifelike. The English version is dull and lifeless in comparison’ (*Life*, by Miss Yonge, 1874, ii. p. 475 f.). Again, ‘An Englishman says, “When I get there, it will be night.” But a Pacific islander says, “I am there, it is night.” The one says, “Go on, it will soon be dark;” the other, “Go on, it has become already night.” Any one sees that the one possesses the power of realizing the future as present or past; the other, *now*, whatever it may have been once, does not exercise such power’ (p. 189). And so, ‘the Hebrew’s mind (and his speech) moved on with his thought, and was present with the whole range of ideas included in the thought’ (p. 505). The time is ‘not inherent in the *tense* at all’ (p. 476).

Obs. 2. It does not fall within the scope of the present work to discuss at length the origin and structure of the two forms; though some indication of the principal opinions that have been held may not be out of place. The fullest treatment of the subject is still that of Dietrich, *Abhandlungen zur Hebr. Grammatik* (1846), pp. 97 ff. (specially on the imperfect), to be supplemented by Turner, *Studies Biblical and Oriental* (1876), pp. 338 ff.; Sayce, *The Tenses of the Assyrian Verb* (in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan. 1877), and on the other side (so far as the imperfect is concerned), Philippi, *ZDMG.* xxix. 1875, pp. 171–174. In the perfect the resemblance

of the third pers. masc. to an adjectival or participial form is evident and generally recognized: the oldest endings of the third fem. and pl. are also closely akin to ordinary fem. and pl. forms of Arabic nouns (Dietrich, 132; Turner, 365 f.; Philippi, *Ursprung und Wesen des St. Constr.*, 1871, pp. 168-170; Merx, *Gramm. Syriaca*, p. 192). In the third pers., therefore, the subject is not expressly represented, nor are there any *distinctively* verbal forms: in the first and second, on the contrary, the subject is regularly marked by a formative element appended to the base, the pronominal origin of which, obvious almost upon the surface, is corroborated by evidence from other sources,—not merely from Aramaic (as has been often observed), but also from Assyrian, where, according to Mr. Sayce (pp. 5, 6, 13), adjectival bases can still be verbalized (e. g. *nahda-cu*, 'I am glorious') no less freely than the participial or verbal bases of other dialects¹.

In the imperfect, the first and second persons are formed pretty plainly by the aid of pronominal elements, though no longer affixed, as in the perfect, but prefixed, and not attached to a base bearing a concrete signification (participial), but to a base with one that is *abstract*²,—mostly, indeed, agreeing in form with the infinitive. The origin of the third pers. is not so clear, and two divergent views have found their supporters. The old explanation, which derived the preformative *y* from הוּא, pronounced 'tolerably satisfactory' by Gesenius in his *Lehrgebäude* (1817), p. 274, and accepted by Ewald until 1844, must indeed for valid reasons (Dietrich, 122-126; Turner, 371 f.) be rejected, though solitary voices are still occasionally heard in its favour (see J. Grill, Z D M G. xxvii. 434). The later theory of Ewald (*Lb.* § 191^a) that the *y* is 'weakened from *l* or *n*' (the latter being the regular Syriac form) is likewise open to objection: but the view that a pronominal element still lies hidden in the prefix, alike in

¹ Merx (p. 192 f.) only differs here from other grammarians in the particular hypothesis by which he would account for *-ti* and *-ta* of the first and second sing.: like Schleicher (in the Essay cited below, p. 13) he is sensible of the difficulty, phonetically, of connecting *-ti* (Arab. *-tu*) with the Ethiopic *-ku*.

² A genuine Semitic construction: cf. אהה, עמך נרבוה, נוסי רויה. The *y*, appended to the second fem. sing., agrees with the *y* in אַתְּי, אַתְּי.

Syriac and in the other dialects, is capable of being placed upon a more defensible basis, and is accordingly asserted by Dillmann, *Aeth. Gramm.* § 101. 2, and, in particular, by Philippi, *Z D M G. l. c.*, who points, for example, to the traces of old demonstrative roots *ya* and *na* existing in the different Semitic languages, and whose arguments deserve to be well weighed by the reader before forming his decision. The majority of recent grammarians, however, have given their assent, more or less pronounced, to the powerful reasoning by which Dietrich, in the Essay referred to above, advocates the originally nominal character of the third person. The line of argument pursued by him may be stated very briefly as follows. Dietrich starts with the remark that it would only be natural to find in the imperfect the two peculiarities observed in the perfect, the presence in it, viz., of a *double mode* of flexion—the first and second persons being compounded with pronouns, the third being formed and declined on the analogy of a noun—and the fact that the ground-form of the tense, the third masc., is not distinguished by any special sign of the person: he next calls attention to the features in which the third imperfect, especially in Arabic, resembles and is treated as a noun—features recognized and noted by the native Arabic grammarians (Wright, i. § 95), and doubtless forming a strong argument in favour of the theory: in the third place, he collects (pp. 136-151), from Hebrew and the other dialects, numerous examples of the nominal form יִלְקוֹם, יִצְהַר, יִרִיב, יִקוֹם, etc., which, though in some cases even identical with the tense-form, still cannot as a class be derived from it (on account of their varying vocalization, their appearance in Syriac, and for other reasons), but must be regarded as an independent though parallel formation. This form is in use to represent sensible qualities or attributes,—originally, it would seem, as purely mental conceptions, i. e. as abstract (cf. יִתּוֹר, יִעַן), but in practice restricted mainly to the representation of the quality as manifested in some concrete object: hence, as a rule, it designates an object under a specially active or conspicuous attribute, being often employed adjectivally to denote a striking bodily peculiarity or defect, or to provide a name for some plant or animal from a characteristic feature¹.

¹ The *transition* of meaning indicated above is essential to Dietrich's own view of the parallelism between the noun and the tense; the

Dietrich now advances, but with greater reserve (p. 155, *ohne mehr als die Stelle einer Muthmaassen in Anspruch zu nehmen*), a similar explanation for the third fem. As לְקַטְלָה is not distinguished from לְקַטְלָה by the usual mark of the feminine, the first step is to shew that cases exist in which the Semitic languages give expression to a difference of gender, not by the normal change of termination, but by having recourse to a different derivative (e. g. masc. *akbaru*, fem. *kubra*²). Next, he collects, as before, instances of the substantives created by prefixing ת , pointing out the close resemblance between the various groups of these and the groups formed with י , and indicating the reasons which forbid their being treated as themselves derivatives from the imperfect (pp. 139, 165–171), while at the same time they are plainly parallel to it. The characteristic of this class is to represent an action under the most abstract relation possible: it is thus strongly contrasted with the previous class exhibiting י , and is adapted, in accordance with the principle just established, to mark the opposite gender,—its appropriation for this purpose being probably facilitated by the resemblance of the prefix ת to the ordinary sign of the feminine (cf. Turner, p. 374; Sayce, p. 30; Stade, § 505). In a word, according to Dietrich, out of the double group of nouns, analogous in form, but contrasted in signification, one of uniform formation was selected from each—of course, at a remote period, when both forms were, so to say, more *fluid* than they subsequently remained—and set apart to mark the two opposite genders of the nascent tense. And, in conclusion, the Syriac imperfect in ܐ is shewn to be capable of an explanation in complete agreement with the same theory, being similarly related to a corresponding nominal form in ܐ , existing both in Syriac itself and also in Hebrew.

This hypothesis of the origin of the third pers. is accepted substantially by Böttcher, § 925 (the י not a mark of the person, but of the tense); Merx, p. 199 f.; Koch, *der Semitische Infinitive* (1874), p. 7; Turner, p. 373 f.; Sayce, *l. c.*, pp. 23–27, 30–32; and Stade, *Lehrbuch*

imperfect, with him, denotes primarily an action or state, not (like the perfect) as objectively realized, but as subjectively *conceived*—as assumed, for example, by the speaker, or as desired or viewed by him as conditional or dependent: its concrete application, though predominant, is deduced and secondary.

der Hebr. Grammatik (1878), § 478^c. While agreeing on the whole, however, these scholars differ as to details: thus, Böttcher expressly disconnects, § 927, the ך of the fem. from the nominal ך, § 547^d, and Stade also considers that it is difficult. Mr. Turner, again, lays no stress on Dietrich's first, or abstract, stage; and Mr. Sayce appears to me disposed to identify unduly (pp. 29, 33) the form of the third pers. with the base of the first and second. Olshausen, *Lehrbuch* (1861), § 226^e, regarded the explanation of the third pers. as 'yet obscure;' Kautsch, in the 22nd ed. of Gesenius' Grammar (1878), § 47. 2, and Aug. Müller, in his *Schulgrammatik* (1878), § 171^a, still express themselves in similar terms, although the latter inclines towards Dietrich's view in the case of the masc. (§ 174^a). Dillmann and Philippi, as we have seen, declare themselves unreservedly on the other side.

The discovery of the origin of a grammatical form is of the highest value to the comparative philologist, or the student of primitive modes of thought; it does not of necessity throw fresh light directly upon the meaning borne by it in practice, particularly if the period of formation be long anterior to that in which the examples of its use actually occur. In the case before us, either view must be regarded at present as conjectural: the cognate languages do not exhibit the imperfect tense in a form so diverse from the Hebrew as to enable us to perceive, either immediately or by a conclusive inference, the elements of which it is composed; there are probable arguments in abundance, but no crucial fact, it appears to me, has yet been produced. The utmost that can be done is to appeal to analogy. Much has been said, for instance, on the originally *abstract* character of the third imperfect: and in favour of the assumption languages such as Turkish are cited, in which certainly the third pers. of the past tense appears to be an abstract substantive; still before we can build with safety upon the analogy, we ought to possess some practical acquaintance with the languages in question, both as regards their general character and (if possible) their history. Otherwise the comparison may be superficial or unreal. Again, in the particular form which the theory takes in Dietrich's hands, it should be remembered that it depends upon a coincidence,—upon the agreement between an assumed transition of meaning in the noun and an assumed derivation of significations in the tense. And in applying

it to the purpose immediately before us, there is an additional difficulty in the fact that it postulates a *triple* structure for a single tense. The perfect is formed homogeneously throughout: the imperfect, on the contrary, presents one formation for the third masc., another for the third fem., a third for the other persons (for I agree with Philippi, against Koch, that these cannot be naturally explained as contracted from *ta-yaktul*, *a-yaktul*, etc.—the pronominal element being prefixed to the form of the third pers. *yaktul*): which of these three, now, is to be regarded as expressing the fundamental character of the tense? The second fem., not being a primary formation, may indeed be set aside: but with which of the other two are we to start in our exposition *à priori* of the meaning conveyed by it? Perhaps, however, it may be fair to assume that the third pers. masc. gave the *type* of the tense, to which the other persons, though constructed out of different elements, were then made conformable, the external parallelism of form being symbolical of the internal unity of signification thereby secured to the entire tense. This being so, its representative power will be analogous to that of the corresponding nominal form: i. e. (if we confine ourselves to what is the predominant signification of the noun) it will depict an act or attribute, not as a quiescent fact, but as the manifestation of an energy residing in the subject, or as ‘a stream evolving itself from its source:’ the subject will be conceived as exerting itself in the production of an activity, the action as egressive (cf. Turner, pp. 376 f., 383–385). *יראה*, *ישמח*, there is the faculty of seeing, the capacity of joy, realizing itself in the subject; the processes of seeing, of rejoicing, are not represented to us as completed (as by the perf., ‘in einem nach allen Seiten hin begränzten und erfasslichen Bilde,’ Dietrich, p. 113), but as being actively manifested by the subject; in other words, he *sees*, *rejoices*. Here the alternative theory of the nominal origin of the third pers. is represented in its simplest form. Fortunately, however, the view thus obtained of the primary idea of the tense hardly differs materially from that which has been already expressed in these pages; for such terms as *incipient*, *nascent*, *progressive*, §§ 2, 21, 43 (understood in connexion with the context), do not convey an appreciably different conception from that which now occurs to me as fairly embodying the other opinion (at least as held by Mr. Turner), viz. *egressive*. As the latter makes prominent what after all is the fundamental fact,

namely, the objective relation of the action to the subject which exhibits it, I have not scrupled to introduce it, together with a few other modifications, into the text of this and the third chapter.

It may be worth while to add that ample analogies exist in other languages for the substantival character of the verb, which must certainly be allowed in the case of the third pers. of the Semitic perf., and which is postulated by Dietrich's theory for the third pers. impf. There was doubtless a time when 'noun' and 'verb' were as yet indistinguishable (cf. Curtius, *Das Verbum der Griech. Sprache*, i. p. 13), and Schleicher has shewn in a lucid and valuable Essay, *Die Unterscheidung von Nomen in Verbum in der laulichen Form* (extracted from the *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Classe der Kön.-Sachs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, iv. 1865), that the clearness and decision with which the Aryan family of speech has expressed the distinction of noun and verb, is far from being a general characteristic of other languages. In Indo-Germanic, 'words which have or had a case-suffix are nouns, those which have or had a personal suffix are verbs:' but the third pers. of the Semitic perf. at once reveals to us that the separation of the two parts of speech is by no means here so complete. Semitic, in this respect, resembles rather, for instance, Finnish, in which (p. 530) *saa* being 'accipere,' and *saa-va* 'accipiens,' the third pl. pres. is *saa-va-t* 'accipiunt,' lit. 'accipientes:' or Samoyedic, where an adjective, and even a substantive, may be used and conjugated exactly as a verb (pp. 537, 539), and where the possessive suffixes to the noun and the personal suffixes in the verb bear the closest resemblance to each other (so also pp. 527, 535, 542); or Mexican (p. 568), where there are no 'true verbs' (cf. Steinthal, *Charakteristik*, pp. 216-218),—the plural of the verb being formed in the same manner as that of the noun¹. The agreement of the third pers. with a nominal

¹ Schleicher's thesis, 'that no grammatical categories exist in the consciousness of the speaker which do not find formal expression in sound,' is doubtless enunciated in terms which are too general, and cases may readily be imagined in which it does not apply (see, above all, Bréal, *Sur les idées latentes du langage*, in his *Mélanges de Mythologie et de linguistique*, pp. 300 f., 308 ff., 312 ff.); but he is right in refusing as a rule to credit a people with a sense of grammatical relations which find no expression in their speech, and in protesting against the

form, and the absence from it of any personal sign is in fact, he remarks (p. 515), a phenomenon often meeting us in other languages¹, particularly where the verb is no verb in the Indo-Germanic sense of the word, but rather a noun: in such cases, the pronoun of the third pers. calls for no special designation, being understood of itself, and it is only the other persons which require to be separately indicated. Though we must not place Semitic on a level with the Polynesian Dayak (respecting which, see Steinthal, p. 165, or Sayce, *Principles of Comparative Philology*, p. 281, ed. 1), we may admit, with Dietrich (p. 136) and Turner (p. 366), no less than with Schleicher, that the distinction between noun and verb does not find in it, formally, the same clear expression as in the languages of our own Aryan family.

assumption—often unconsciously influencing us—according to which all languages are framed on the same model, drawing the same distinctions, and possessing the same resources, as those with which we happen to be ourselves familiar.

¹ Instances from Magyar (p. 527), and from the Mongolian Buriat (p. 546), in which ‘the third perf., in form and signification alike, is a noun.’

CHAPTER II.

The Perfect alone.

N.B. The reader is requested to notice that *throughout this book*, in every pointed word quoted without its proper accent, the tone is *always on the ultima* (milra') *unless specially marked otherwise* by metheg¹. Attention to the position of the tone is of the first importance for a right understanding of the language; and the necessity of observing it cannot be too emphatically inculcated. By acquiring the habit of doing this regularly, the eye will become trained so as to notice it instinctively and without effort, and will be at once arrested by any deviation a word may present from the customary rule.

7. THE perfect tense, in accordance with its fundamental character, as stated § 2, is used

(1) As equivalent to the Greek aorist, to denote an action completed and finished at a definite moment in the past, fixed by the narrative; as Gen. 1, 1. 3, 16 unto the woman אָמַר *he said*. 10, 8 יָלַד. 25, 30 קָרָא. 32, 11 *I passed over*. 49, 30 f. Ps. 18, 5. 6. 9. 30, 3. 32, 4 *was turned*. 5 *said*. 39, 3 f. 40, 8. 44, 3 f.

Even though the action indicated by the verb should itself extend over a considerable period; as Ex. 1, 7 פָּרַד.

¹ Where a word *milra'* has from any cause a previous syllable marked by metheg, I have, in order to avoid the possibility of mistake, attached one likewise to the ultima.

12, 40. Num. 9, 23. Deut. 2, 14. 1 Ki. 15, 2 three years מָלַךְ *he reigned*. Ps. 35, 13 f.; or even though it be repeated, as 1 Sam. 18, 30¹.

8. (2) Like the Greek perfect, to denote an action completed in the past, but with the accessory idea of its consequences continuing up to the time at which the words are uttered: it is thus employed to describe an action resulting in a *state*, which may be of longer or shorter duration, according to the context. Thus Gen. 4, 6 why נָפַלוּ *hath thy face fallen?* 32, 11 *I have become* (LXX γέγονα) two camps. Isa. 1, 4 *have forsaken* Yahweh. 5, 24^b. Ps. 3, 7. 5, 11. 10, 11 הִסְתִּיר. 16, 6. 17, 5 בָּלַ נְמוֹטוֹ *have not tottered*. 11. 18, 37. 22, 2. 31, 15 *have trusted*. 38, 10-13. 102, 4-8. 119, 3. 30.

Where the consequences of such an action continue into the present we may sometimes render by the present tense, although, if the effect be not unnatural or stiff, it is better to preserve the perfect. Amos 5, 14 as *ye say*. Ps. 2, 1 why do the people rage? (*have raged*—an action which the context shews has not ceased at the moment of the poet's writing). 38, 3-9 *are filled, am benumbed, etc.* 88, 7-10. 14. 16-19. Isa. 21, 3 f. Job 19, 18-20.

Obs. It is of importance to keep the aoristic and perfect senses of this tense distinct, and also to ascertain upon every occasion which of the two is meant, whether, in other words, the action or state described by the tense is one which has ceased, or one which still continues. There is frequently some difficulty upon this point,

¹ Whether in cases like these the pf. or impf. is employed, depends naturally upon the *animus loquentis*: if the speaker does not desire to lay any special stress on the frequency or continuance of an event, the simplest and most obvious way of designating it will be by the employment of the perfect.

especially in the Psalms: and unless care be taken in translation, the sense of a passage may be greatly obscured. For instance, Ps. 35, 15 f. 21, the tenses employed in both the Prayer-Book Version and the Authorized Version would seem to suggest that the state of things described was one which had been *formerly* experienced: thus the motive for the petition, *v.* 17, is gone, and it becomes meaningless. But in fact *v.* 17 shews that the preceding *vv.* refer to what still goes on, and that the right translation of the perfects is consequently 'have rejoiced,' etc., exactly as *v.* 7. On the other hand, Ps. 31, 8 f. as it stands in the Authorized Version and Prayer-Book Version is only intelligible by the side of *v.* 10 if the perfects are explained according to § 14. This is possible, but it is better to suppose that the two cohortatives express a wish or prayer rather than an intention, and that רָאִיָה, יָדַעַה are aoristic, relating to a former condition of things now come to an end. The English 'thou hast considered' in no way suggests the possibility of such a termination: to admit of this, we must either emphasize the auxiliary, and say, 'thou *hast* considered,' or render 'thou didst consider,' inserting, if deemed necessary, 'once' or 'formerly.' Similarly, 32, 4 (*was*, not *is*; the context plainly shews that the period of depression is past); 39, 3 *was* dumb, but *v.* 10 *am* dumb.

And this doublesidedness of the perfect will probably throw light on Lam. 3, 55-58: the pff. in these verses are aoristic, describing a state of things *anterior* as well to *vv.* 52-54 as to *vv.* 59-61 (רָאִיָה *v.* 59 exactly as Ps. 10, 14. 35, 22: the change from *v.* 54 to *v.* 55 is no more abrupt or unprepared than the very similar one between Job 30, 31 and 31, 1). Lam. 4, 7 (*were*). 8 (*is*), the two senses occur side by side.

9. (3) In cases where in English the perfect *has* is used idiomatically to describe an action occurring in the past at a moment which the speaker is not able or not desirous to specify more closely; as 1 Sam. 12, 3 whose ox לָקַחְתִּי *have I taken?* (or *did I (ever) take?*) 4¹. Ps. 3, 8 thou hast smitten (on some previous occasion). 4, 2. 7, 4.

¹ Cf. Thucyd. 5, 103 οὐ καθεῖλεν, *never ruined*.

21, 3. 37, 35¹. 44, 2. Prov. 21, 22 (cf. Qoh. 9, 14 f.). Job 4, 3. 9, 4. 30, 25. 31, 5 etc. 33. 34, 31. 37, 20 (did man ever say?). Jer. 2, 11^a.

In these cases, the limits of time within which the action must lie are obvious from the context: passages like Gen. 4, 1 קָנִיתִי 10 מָה עָשִׂיתָ *what hast thou done* (a few moments ago)? or *what didst thou do?* (just now; but the former is the English idiom). 32, 27. 31. 41, 28. Ex. 2, 18. Num. 22, 34. Ps. 2, 7^c. 30, 4. 48, 4 נִוְרַע hath made himself known; and the common phrase יְהוָה אָמַר יהוה Ex. 4, 22 etc. lead us on to the next usage.

10. (4) Here the perfect is employed to describe the immediate past, being generally best translated by the present; as Gen. 14, 22 הֶרַמְתִּי *I lift up* (have this moment, as I speak, lifted²) my hand to heaven. 1 Sam. 17, 10 הִרְפִּיתִי I reproach. 2 Sam. 16, 4 I bow myself down. 17, 11 I advise. 19, 30 I say. 1 Ki. 1, 35 וְאִתּוֹ צוִּיתִי and him do I appoint to be prince over Israel, etc.

2 Chr. 2, 12 (in a letter³) I send.

11. (5) Closely allied to (3) is the use of the perfect with such words as יָדַעְתִּי Gen. 4, 9. 21, 26 *I have not known* = *I do not know*; זָכַרְנִי Num. 11, 5 *we remember*; בָּאֵשֶׁר אָהֵב Gen. 27, 9 as *he loveth*. In verbs like these, expressive of a state or condition, whether physical or mental, which, though it may have been attained at some previous time, nevertheless continues to exist up to the

¹ Comp. Sophocles, Ajax 1142 (aorist), 1150 (perfect).

² Compare in Greek the so-called 'aorist of immediate past,' so common in the tragedians, e. g. Aesch. Choeph. 423. Soph. El. 668 ἐδέξαμην (*I welcome*) τὸ ῥηθέν. 677 etc.

³ Cf. 2 Cor. 8, 18. Acts 23, 30.

moment of speaking, the emphasis rests so often upon the latter point, that the English *present* most adequately represents the force of the original perfect.

To the verbs already cited may be added, as belonging to the same class, the following, which are selected from the list given by Böttcher, *Ausf. Lehrbuch*, § 948 : by this grammarian they are not inaptly termed *verba stativa* or 'statives.' אִמְלַל *to languish* ; בָּטַח *to trust* Ps. 26, 2 etc. ; נָבְהָ *to be high* Isa. 55, 9 ; גָּדַל *to be great* Ps. 92, 6 ; דָּמָה *to be like* Ps. 144, 4 ; זָקֵן *to be old* Ruth 1, 12 ; חָסָה *to take refuge* Ps. 7, 2 etc. ; טָהַר *to be clean* Prov. 20, 9 ; יָכַל *to be able* Ps. 40, 13 ; יָאָן *to refuse* Ex. 10, 3 ; מָאָס *to despise* Job 7, 16 ; מָלֵא *to be full* Ps. 104, 24 ; צָדַק *to be just* Job 10, 15. 34, 5 ; קָטַן *to be small* Gen. 32, 11 ; רַבַּב *to be*¹ *many* Ps. 104, 24 ; שָׂמַח *to rejoice* 1 Sam. 2, 1 ; שָׂנְאָה *to hate* Ps. 5, 6 ; add likewise הָיָה Gen. 42, 11. Isa. 15, 6 ; הִפְצִיתִי 40, 9 etc.²

It will be understood, however, that many of these verbs are found also as aorists, i. e. with the emphasis not on the continuance of the state described, but on its commencement, or upon the fact of its existence generally at some period in the past ; e. g. Gen. 28, 16 לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I knew* it not. 37, 3. 1 Sam. 10, 19. 22, 22. Ps. 39, 3 (contrast *v.* 10). 41, 10. In itself the perfect enunciates simply the completion of an act : it is by way of accommodation to the usage of another language that, eliciting its special force from the context, we make the meaning more definite

¹ 'To become many,' i. e. be multiplied, is רָבָה.

² Cf. μέμαα, πέφυκα, πέποιθα, οἶδα, ἔρωμαι, etc. We commonly denote a state by the use of the present: the Greek, in verbs like these, 'conceives it as the result of the act necessary for attaining it, and therefore denotes it by the perfect.'

by exhibiting it explicitly, as occasion demands, under the form of an aorist, a perfect, or a present.

12. (6) It is used to express general truths known to have actually occurred, and so proved from experience: here again the idiomatic rendering in English is by means of the present¹: Isa. 1, 3^a. 40, 7. 8. 23. Ps. 7, 16 הָרַץ he *hath dug* or *diggeth* a pit and holloweth it out. 10, 3. 6. 11. 14, 1-5 (or may we rather infer from the succession of pff. only that the writer is alluding to some definite event that had occurred? if they are pff. of experience, it is strange to find no imperfects interspersed: cf. Job 28, 3f. 8-11). 33, 13f. 34, 11. 37, 23. 39, 12. 73, 7. 84, 4 הָרַץ, הָרַץ². 88, 6. 90, 5. 9. Prov. 22, 12. 13. Jer. 10, 13^b. Qoh. 8, 14 (*has taken* place, or *takes* place). Comp. 1 Sam. 20, 2 Kt.

13. (7) The perfect is employed to indicate actions the accomplishment of which lies indeed in the future, but is regarded as dependent upon such an unalterable determination of the will that it may be spoken of as having actually taken place: thus a resolution, promise, or decree, especially a divine one, is very frequently announced in the perfect tense. A striking instance is afforded by Ruth 4, 3, where Bo'az, speaking of No'ömi's determination

¹ Both the pf. and aorist (the 'gnomic' aorist) are similarly used in Greek: Xen. Mem. 4, 2. 35 πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ δόξαν καὶ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν μέγαρα κακὰ πεπόνθασιν (preceded by three presents); cf. the aorist Plato Rep. 566 D. E. in the description of the conduct of the τύραννος, also Il. 9, 320. 13, 62. 243. 300. 14, 217. 18, 309 etc.

In the gnomic aorist (which is sometimes found coupled with the present, as Il. 17, 177 ὅστε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἄνδρα φοβεῖ, καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκην Ῥηϊδίας) 'a fact of the past is exhibited as a rule for all time.'

² Not *may lay* (A.V.), which would be הִשָּׁה: the word states a fact, exactly as הָרַץ does.

to sell her land, says, **נָעַמְי מָכְרָה** lit. *has sold* (has resolved to sell: the Engl. idiom would be *is selling*). Gen. 23, 11 *I give* thee the field; 13, Abraham replies, **נָתַתִּי** *I give* thee the value of the field (although the money does not actually pass till *v.* 16). 15, 18 to thy seed *I give* this land; similarly 1 Ki. 3, 13. Isa. 43, 20. Jer. 31, 33; Judg. 15, 3 **נָתַתִּי** referring to the contemplated act of violence. Exod. 12, 17. 1 Sam. 15, 2. Ezek. 21, 9 (cf. 8) **הִכָּרְתִּי**. Lev. 26, 44 nevertheless, when they are in the land of their enemies, **לֹא מֵאַסְתִּים** *I do not reject them*. Ps. 20, 7 Now know I that Yahweh *is sure to save* his anointed. Num. 32, 19 **בָּאֵל** (*mil'el*, and so pf., not part.¹). 2 Chr. 12, 5 **עֹזַבְתִּי**.

Here also may be noticed the use of the pf. in Jer. 4, 13 Woe to us, for **שָׁדְדָנוּ** *we are undone!* (at the terrible prospect of the Chaldee's approach: comp. ὄλωλα, and such phrases as Il. 15, 128 *μαινόμενε, φρένας ἤλέ, διέφθορας*). Isa. 6, 5. Ps. 31, 23. Lam. 3, 54. Numb. 17, 27.

14. (8) But the most special and remarkable use of the tense, though little more than an extension of the last

¹ It may be worth while here, once for all, to remind the reader that in verbs ע"ו the pf. fem. **בָּאֵל** is *mil'el*, the part. fem. **בָּאֵלָה** *milra'*; **הַשָּׂמָה**, therefore, Isa. 51, 10 is the perfect, although preceded by the article; cf. Gen. 18, 21, and see Josh. 10, 24, and Kalisch, *Hebr. Gramm.* § 80. 10. This distinction may be easily borne in mind, if it be recollected that in each case the position of the tone depends simply upon the particular application of a *general* rule: on the one hand, all *fem. adjectives* in הַ are regularly accented on the ultima, e. g. **קָמְרָה**; on the other hand, all *tense-forms* ending in הַ, י, ו, with a *vowel* (not *shwa'*) before the last radical, except in certain special cases, take the tone upon the penultima, e. g. **קָמְרָה**, **אֶשְׂבָּה**, **קָמְרָה**, **וְנָתַתִּי**. We are now further in a position to understand how upon precisely the same principle **נָתַתִּי** Ps. 19, 8 must be the part. and **נָתַתִּי** Isa. 53, 7 the pausal form of the perfect.

idiom, is as the *prophetic perfect*: its abrupt appearance in this capacity confers upon descriptions of the future a most forcible and expressive touch of reality, and imparts in the most vivid manner a sense of the certainty with which the occurrence of a yet future event is contemplated by the speaker¹. Sometimes the perfect appears thus only for a single word; sometimes, as though nothing more than an ordinary series of past historical events were being described, it extends over many verses in succession: continually the series of perfects is interspersed with the simple future forms, as the prophet shifts his point of view, at one moment contemplating the events he is describing from the *real standpoint* of the present, at another moment looking back upon them as accomplished and done, and so viewing them from an *ideal position* in the future.

It will be best to classify under distinct heads the various modes in which this perfect of certitude, or prophetic perfect, may appear.

(a) The description of the future scene may *begin* with the perfect, whether the verbs following (if there be any) fall back into the future or not: Num. 24, 17 a star 𐤀𐤏𐤃 *hath proceeded* out of Jacob, and *shall* etc. Judg. 4, 14 *hath* he not gone out before thee? Isa. 5, 13 Therefore 𐤁𐤏𐤃 *hath* my people *gone* into captivity (although the cap-

¹ The Greek aorist is similarly used, at least in the apodosis, to 'express future events which must certainly happen' (Jelf, § 403, 2); and even coupled with a future, Il. 4, 161 *ἔκ τε καὶ ὀψὲ τελεῖ, σύν τε μέγαλφ ἀπίτισαν*. 9, 413 (see further below, § 136 γ). Compare also its force in such descriptive passages as Il. 9, 7 (*ἔχουαν*). 15, 626. 16, 299-300. 20, 497. Phaedrus 245 A (*ἠφανίσθη*). 251 A. B. 254 B. etc.

tivity is only *anticipated*). 25 על בן חרה etc. 8, 23. 9, 1-6 the people that walked in darkness *have seen* a great light etc. 10, 28-31 (of the march of the Assyrian) he *hath come* to 'Ayyâth etc. 21, 1 בא. 12 אהא. 24, 4-12 (except 9). 28, 2 הניח (the prophet sees Samaria already laid low on the ground). 30, 5. 33, 3. 42, 17. 45, 16 f. 46, 1 f. (the fall of Babel and its idols spoken of as *achieved*: for parallel part. cf. Jer. 5, 6). Jer. 2, 26 הבישו. 5, 6 הִזְקִים (where observe that the impf. and part. follow: in each of the three parallel expressions the prophet seizes upon a fresh aspect of the scene). 13, 26 השפתי. 28, 2 (in 4, the impf. אשבר). 32, 24 f. 46, 14-16. 23 f. 51, 8. 41. Ezek. 3, 25. 24, 14^b etc. Amos 5, 2. Zeph. 3, 18. Ps. 22, 22. 30 all the fat ones of the earth *have eaten* and worshipped. 26, 12 my foot *standeth* in a level land. 30, 12. 36, 13 (he sees the wicked already fallen). 41, 4. 71, 24. 85, 11 etc. Compare Jer. 6, 15^b. 49, 8. 50, 31 (עַתָּה פִּקְדוֹתַיִי).

It thus occurs (exceptionally) after oaths or other strong asseverations; as אִם לֹא Jer. 15, 11 (22, 6 etc. with the impf.); אִם כִּי 2 Ki. 5, 20 (1 Sam. 26, 10. 2 Sam. 15, 21, the impf.; cf. § 115).

(β) It frequently appears after כִּי, the reason for an assertion or a command being found in some event the occurrence of which, though still future, is deemed *certain*, and contemplated accordingly by the writer; Isa. 11, 9 they will do no destruction in all my holy mountain, for the earth *is filled* with the knowledge of Yahweh (at the time alluded to *has been* filled). 15, 6^b. 8. 9. 16, 8. 9 נפל. 23, 1. 4. 14 howl, for your stronghold *has been wasted!* 24, 18. 23 מלך. 29, 20. 32, 10 בלה. 14. 34, 2. 35, 6. 60, 1. Jer. 25, 14. 31, 6. 9^b. 11. 25. Mic. 1, 9. 12. 16. Zeph. 1, 11. Zech. 11, 2. Ps. 6, 9 f. שָׁמַע. 28, 6. 31, 22 (prob.). 56, 14.

59, 17¹. Gen. 30, 13 I am in luck, for the daughters אִשְׁרֹנִי
are sure to call me lucky!

Without כִּי, Isa. 21, 2 השבתי 14 (reason for 13). 33, 14.
34, 14^b. 15^b. 16^b. 35, 2. Zeph. 2, 2 like chaff *hath* the day
(the time of delay before לרדת חק) *passed by!* 3, 14 f. Lam.
4, 22.

(γ) But the pf. is also found (without כִּי) where, in a description of the future, it is desired to give variety to the scene, or to confer particular emphasis upon individual isolated traits in it; it may in this case appear in the midst of a series of imperfects, either ἀσυνδέτως, or connected with what precedes by the copulative, *provided that the ῥ is separated from the verb* by one or more intervening words (if this be not the case, i. e. if the conjunction is *immediately* followed by the verb, the imperfect tense with ῥ is of course employed: see below, § 82). For instance, without *waw*:—

Isa. 5, 28. 30 השך 8, 8. 13, 10^b. 16, 10. 17, 11^b (if יָר be vb.). 19, 6^b. 7^b. 24, 14^b. 25, 8 בָּלַע he hath swallowed up death for ever! (contrast 7 ובלע 7). 30, 19 עָנָה as soon as he

¹ In some of the passages from the Psalms we may not perhaps feel assured that the perfects are to be understood in this sense, as representing the certainty and confidence felt by the writers as regards the events they anticipate. It is undoubtedly *possible* that they may simply describe past facts or former experiences (like 4, 2. 31, 6 etc.) which the writer desires to refer to: so, for example, 28, 6. 31, 22. 36, 13. But the 'perfect of certitude' is of such frequent and well-established occurrence, and at the same time so much more forcible and appropriate to the context than the more common-place 'perfect of experience,' that we need not scruple to interpret accordingly. Such sudden turns as those in 6, 9. 28, 6. 30, 12 are no less effective and emphatic than the abrupt introduction of a new and dissimilar key in a piece of music.

heareth, he *hath answered* thee! 33, 5^b *hath* filled, etc. 51¹, 111^b יִשְׁיֵיגוּ וְנִסּוּ. 47, 9. 49, 17. Jer. 25, 38. 31, 5^b. 47, 3. Joel 2, 10. 4, 15. Zech. 9, 15 הִכּוּ. Ps. 37, 20. Job 5, 19 f. in six troubles he will deliver thee, and in seven evil will not touch thee, in famine פָּדָה *he hath redeemed* thee from death, and in war from the power of the sword!

Obs. After an imperative,—the poet, by an abrupt transition, picturing what he desires as already achieved, Isa. 21, 14. Ps. 68, 31^b (cf. 29^a). Many commentators, to be sure, prefer to punctuate the verbs in question as imperatives; but the alteration has a weakening effect, and does not appear to be necessary: cf. Ezek. 24, 5^b.

With *waw* :—

Isa. 5, 27^b (a particular feature in their approach described as though *present to the eye*). 11, 8 הִדָּהּ . . . וְ. 18, 5 : הִסִּיר הַתֵּזוֹ. 19, 8^b. 25, 12. 30, 32. Jer. 48, 33^b. Job 5, 23. 22, 28^b. And similarly in descriptions of the present, Ps. 7, 13 (we see the bow *already drawn*). 11, 2 כּוֹנְנוּ. Job 41, 20. Compare also Ps. 38, 17; Job 5, 11. 28, 25; 15, 31. 21, 7. 34 : in all these passages there is a change of construction, the writer passing suddenly from an expression of *modality* to the statement of a *fact*².

15. Sometimes the perfect is used in order to give emphatic expression to a predicate, conceived as being

¹ In the parallel passage 35, 10 we have יִשְׁיֵיגוּ וְנִסּוּ : the change is curious and instructive; it appears to have arisen from the tail of the ך becoming accidentally shortened, or a copyist in doubt preferring the more usual construction, as LXX in 35, 10 as well as 51, 11 have ἀπέδρα (which they are unlikely to have gone out of their way to choose, had they read וְנִסּוּ), and no one can hesitate as to which is the more vigorous expression.

² I have been led to give a large number of examples of this use of the perfect, not only on account of its intrinsic importance, but also for a reason which will appear more fully in Chap. VIII.

immediately and necessarily involved in the subject of the verb¹: thus Prov. 8, 35 Qri, he that finds me *has* (in that very act) *found* life. 14, 31. 16, 26. 30. 17, 5. 27, 16; cf. 22, 9.

16. (9) The perfect is used where we should employ by preference the pluperfect, i. e. in cases where it is desired to bring two actions in the past into a special relation with each other, and to indicate that the action described by the pluperfect was completed before the other took place. The function of the pluperfect is thus to throw two events into their proper perspective as regards each other: but the tense is to some extent a superfluous one—it is an elegance for which Hebrew possesses no distinct form, and which even in Greek, as is well known, both classical and Hellenistic, is constantly replaced by the simple aorist. Gen. 2, 2 God blessed the works which עשה *he had made*, LXX ἀ ἐποίησε; 6, 1. 19, 28 and behold the smoke עלה *had ascended* (had begun to ascend before Abraham looked). 20, 18 for *he had shut* up etc. 28, 11 בא. 31, 34 and Rachel *had* taken (before Laban entered into the tent, *v.* 33). 34, 5. 38, 15. Deut. 9, 16. Judg. 6, 28. 1 Sam. 28, 20 for *he had not eaten* bread. 30, 12. 2 Sam. 18, 18. 1 Ki. 1, 6. 41 (they *had finished* eating when they heard). 2 Ki. 9, 16. Isa. 6, 6; after a conjunction like כַּאֲשֶׁר Gen. 7, 9. 18, 33. 20, 13 etc.

Or, somewhat differently, when it may be wished to indicate explicitly that a given action was anterior to another action named immediately afterwards (not, as in the first case, named previously), Ps. 30, 7. 8 (where by rendering אמרת, העמדתה by the plupf. we bring them into

¹ Cf. Rom. 13, 8 ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν νόμον πεπλήρωκε, and Winer, § 40. 4^b.

distinct relief as *anterior* to the following (הסתרת). 31, 23. Job 32, 4 but Elihu *had waited*, for they, Iyôb's friends, were older than he. 42, 5 by hearing of the ear *had I heard* of thee, but now hath mine eye seen thee.

Obs. Such cases as these really present a fresh instance of the ambiguity noticed above, § 8, and originating in the use of the same tense to denote both the more immediate and the remoter past. Where the relation to each other, as regards time, of the events thus described is evident from the context, no alteration of tense need take place, and the plupf. is not required (e. g. Ps. 104, 6 f.): where, however, this is not the case, the plupf., which occupies the same position as regards the aorist, which the aorist occupies as regards the perfect, should be employed in English.

17. (10) Similarly, in the description of future events, it is often convenient in English to exhibit more distinctly the relation of two actions to one another by substituting for the Heb. perfect the future perfect, or 'paullo-post-futurum;' but this is by no means always obligatory, or even desirable. Lev. 14, 48 נרפא. 19, 8 they that eat it shall bear their own sin, for (if any one eats it) he *will have profaned* what is holy to Yahweh. 20, 3 נתן. 17. 19. 20. 1 Sam. 14, 10. 20, 22 if I say thus, go; for שלחך יהוה *will* (in that case) *have sent* thee away. Deut. 28, 45. 62. Ezek. 3, 21 for (in that case) נזהר (pf. *in pausa*) he *will have been warned* and THOU *will have delivered* thy soul. 1 Chr. 14, 15 (in the parallel passage 2 Sam. 5, 24 אָז is inserted). Gen. 48, 6 which thou *shalt have* begotten (not *mayest* beget, which would be תוליד). 1 Sam. 1, 28 היה. Jer. 8, 3; after conjunctions, such as אחר Lev. 14, 43 אחר חליץ after that *he has taken away* the stones. 25, 48; עד 2 Ki. 7, 3 עד מתנו: till we *are dead*. Ezek. 34, 21. Mic. 5, 2 עד ילדה עד עת until the time when she *will have*

borne; עַד אֲשֶׁר אֵם Gen. 28, 15 until *I have done* etc. Num. 32, 17. Isa. 6, 11; עַד אֵם Gen. 24, 19; כִּי אֵם 2 Ki. 4, 24 except I bid thee; כִּי Isa. 16, 12 it shall come to pass, כִּי נִרְאָה when Moab *has appeared* (cum apparuerit) etc. 1 Chr. 17, 11 when thy days מלאו *have been* fulfilled. Dan. 11, 36; אֵם (=when), Isa. 4, 4: cf. § 138.

18. (11) The use of the perfect in both the protasis and apodosis of certain forms of hypothetical propositions will be illustrated below: see Chap. X. A few cases, however, may be noticed here in which the pf. is employed to denote events appertaining to past time, which *might have happened* but *did not happen*, which are therefore only for the moment conceived as having occurred, under conditions not actually realized. In Greek the existence of such conditions is (though not universally¹, Jelf, §§ 858 f. Winer, § 42. 2^b) noted by *ἄν* in the apodosis: we observe therefore that the Heb. perfect corresponds not merely to the Greek aorist by itself, but to the Greek aorist with *ἄν*, that in other words it expresses the *contingent* as well as the *actual* occurrence of an event—the sense of the reader, or the tone in which the words are spoken, readily determining to which category the event is to be referred. So after כִּי מָעַט Ps. 73, 2. 119, 87. Prov. 5, 14; כִּי אֲשֶׁר Zech. 10, 6^b. Job 10, 19 I should (then) be as though לא הייתי I had never been born. See also § 39 γ, *Obs.*

19. (12) The perfect is used rather singularly in *questions*: 1. after עַד אֲנִי or עַד מָתִי Ex. 10, 3 until when מֵאַנְתָּ *wilt thou have* refused? 16, 28. Num. 14, 27 till

¹ And compare the use of the indicative in Latin, e. g. Hor. Carm. 2. 17, 27 Me truncus illapsus cerebro *Sustulerat* nisi Faunus ictum Dextra levasset.

when *am I to have* heard? Ps. 80, 5; and with impf. in the parallel clause Hab. 1, 2. Prov. 1, 22. Also Jer. 22, 23 (contrast 13, 21).

And 2. to express astonishment at what appears to the speaker in the highest degree improbable:—

Gen. 18, 12 הֲיִתְּהָ. Judg. 9, 9. 11. 13 *am I to have* lost my fatness והֲלֹכְתִי and go? etc. 2 Ki. 20, 9 הֲלִיִּי *iveritne*¹? Num. 17, 28 shall we ever have finished dying? Prov. 24, 28; and possibly Ps. 73, 11. Job 22, 13.

Gen. 21, 7 who² *could have* said to Abraham? 1 Sam. 26, 9 וְנָקָה... מִי שָׁלַח who *is to have* put forth his hand... and be guiltless? LXX τίς ἐποίησεν (quite different from Deut. 5, 23. Lam. 3, 37. Job 9, 4 who 'ever hardened himself against him: וַיִּשְׁלַם and escaped whole? as is clear from both the sense of the passage and the difference in the *tense* of the second verb: see above, § 9, and Chap. VIII). Ps. 11, 3. 60, 11.

20. (13) Is there a *precativè* perfect in Hebrew? or does the perfect in Hebrew, as in certain cases in Arabic, serve to give emphatic enunciation to a wish? The affirmative is maintained by Ewald, § 223^b, who cites Isa. 26, 15. Ps. 10, 16. 31, 6. 57, 7. 116, 16. Job 21, 16. 22, 18. Lam. 1, 21. 3, 57-61 and the 'old form of speech' preserved Ps. 18, 47; by Böttcher, §§ 939^g, 947^g, who, accepting out of Ewald's instances only Ps. 116, 16. Job 21, 16. 22, 18. Lam. 3, 57-61, adds to the list Isa. 43, 9.

¹ Where, accordingly, there is no need (with Hitzig on Ps. 11, 3) to change the punctuation and read הֲלִיִּי.

² Cf. Ephrem Syrus III. p. 59 if painters cannot paint the wind وَحَمُّ صَمِّ زُؤَانِهِ whose tongue *can have* described the Son of God? for which in str. 18 we have the impf. مَرَدُّ.

Mic. 1, 10 Kt. Ps. 4, 2. 7, 7. 22, 22. 71, 3. 141, 6 f.¹; and by Gesenius, § 126. 4 *note*. In any case, if the usage exists, it is but an extension of the same manner of speech which has been already explained, § 14, viz. the perfect of certitude; the prominent position of the verb—in Arabic², to avoid misconstruction, it all but universally stands first in the sentence—aided by the tone of voice with which it is uttered, being sufficient to invest the conviction or hope, which is all that the tense employed in itself expresses, with the character of a wish. But the fact is that the evidence for this signification of the pf. is so precarious, the passages adduced in proof of it³

¹ Two other passages quoted, Jer. 50, 5. Joel 4, 11, do not in any case belong here, the verb in each being attached to ך.

² For the Arabic usage see Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* §§ 198, 710; Wright, *Arabic Gramm.* ii. p. 3. Even the fact that in Hebrew the position of the verb is neglected ought to excite suspicion: in Arabic it is just the position which gives to the tense that interjectional force, upon which, in Ewald's words, its peculiar significance entirely depends.

³ E. g. Ps. 4, 2. 116, 16 are quite naturally explained by § 9; 7, 7. 71, 3 resemble substantially ראיחה Ps. 10, 14. 35, 22; Lam. 3, 57 ff. has been discussed already; Isa. 26, 15 are words spoken from the standpoint of the future, and 43, 9 the tenses are similar to those in 41, 5 (Ew. Hitz. Del., however, regard נקבצו as an imperative). As regards Ps. 22, 22 it is to be noticed that the words in question stand on the border-ground between the petition for help and the thanksgiving for its approach: it might almost be said that the poet began with the intention of saying וּמְקַרְנֵי רַמִּים תִּצְעֲנָנִי, but that, as he wrote, the prospect of the deliverance burst upon him so brightly as to lead him to speak of it as an accomplished fact עֲנִיחָנִי, which he then makes the key-note of the following verses 23-32. Compare further Hupfeld's note on Ps. 4, 2. Delitzsch would confine the use to such 'interjectional exclamations' as the

admitting of a ready explanation by other means, that it will be safer to reject it altogether¹.

one contained in the two verses from Job (which are also the only passages referred to by Gesenius); but even there it is more than doubtful whether it is necessary or legitimate to have recourse to it: Hitzig sees in *רחקה* only an earnest protestation of innocence, and translates by the present indicative.

¹ The same view is defended, with additional reasons, by Prof. August Müller, in his review of the present work, pp. 202 f. (the pre-cative perfect not used at all in Arabic to express concrete, personal petitions, such as would be contained in most of the passages referred to: in the other passages, no exegetical necessity for having recourse to it).

CHAPTER III.

The Imperfect alone.

21. IN marked antithesis to the tense we have just discussed, the imperfect in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic languages, indicates action as *nascent*, as evolving itself actively from its subject, as developing. The imperfect does not imply *mere* continuance as such (which is the function of the participle), though, inasmuch as it emphasizes the process introducing and leading to completion, it expresses what may be termed *progressive* continuance; by thus seizing upon an action while nascent, and representing it under its most striking and impressive aspect (for it is just when a fresh object first appears upon a scene that it exhibits greater energy, and is, so to speak, more aggressive, than either while it simply continues or after it has been completed), it can present it in the liveliest manner possible—it can present it in *movement* rather than, like the pf., in a condition of rest. The action thus exhibited as *ready* or *about to take place* may belong to the past, the present, or the future; but an event ready and so capable of taking place would be likely and liable to occur more than once; we thus find the imperfect employed to denote *reiterated* actions—‘a mist יַעֲלֶה used to go up’ (upon repeated occasions; but וַיִּנְהַר יַצֵּא ‘and a river was

(unintermittently) *proceeding* out of the garden')¹. In strictness, הלך expresses only a *single* event as beginning or ready to take place; but an action of which this may be predicated is in the nature of things likely to happen more frequently, and thus the additional connotation of 'recurrency' would be speedily superinduced upon the more limited original signification of the imperfect².

22. The same form is further employed to describe events belonging to the *future*; for the future is emphatically τὸ μέλλον, and this is just the attribute specially expressed by the imperfect. The idea of reiteration is not prominent in this case, because the occurrence of the event spoken of is by itself sufficient to occupy and satisfy the mind, which does not look beyond to reflect whether it is likely to happen more than once: on the other hand, when a *past* event is described by the impf. the attention is at once arrested by the peculiarities of the tense—original and derived—which are *not* explained if a *single* action alone be assumed. The *mere* occurrence of an event is denoted by the perfect; the impf., therefore (unless its appearance be attributable solely to chance), must have been chosen in order to suggest some additional feature characteristic of the occurrence, which, in

¹ Cf. the English 'apt,' properly = fitted, suited, adapted, but also used in the phrase 'to be apt to do so and so,' in a frequentative signification = 'to be liable, accustomed, or used to do so and so:' we here see how an expression indicating simply *readiness* or *capacity* may so extend its original connotation as to acquire in addition the power of connoting *recurrence*.

² Nor will this circumstance occasion any greater room for doubt or obscurity than the well-known fact that such a word as רָכַב, for instance, may be used in a double sense, as a collective as well as an individual noun.

the case before us, is the fact (or possibility) of its repetition. Reiteration in the future, however, must be inferred from the nature of the idea expressed by the verb, not from the grammatical form which it assumes; nor is the ambiguity any greater than in the case of the perfect, which, as we saw above, might be used indiscriminately, either to describe an action completed and done with, or to describe one of which the results lasted up to the moment at which the sentence was uttered.

23. An idea, however, like that of *nascency*, *beginning*, or *going to be* is almost indefinitely elastic: on the one hand, that which is in the process of coming to pass is also that which is *destined* or *must* come to pass ($\tau\acute{o}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$); on the other hand, it is also that which *can* or *may* come to pass. If the subject of the verb be also the speaker, i. e. if the verb be in the first person, that which is about to come to pass will be commonly that which he himself *desires* or *wishes* to come to pass; if, however, the verb be in the second or third person, it naturally expresses the wishes of the speaker *as regards some one else*, and so conveys a more or less emphatic *permission* which imperceptibly passes, especially in negative sentences, into a *command*. אֶרְאֶה Deut. 32, 20 *I will* or *am about to look*, I should like to look; תֹּאכַל thou mayest eat Gen. 2, 16, but, in the injunctions for the passover, Ex. 12, 11 *ye are to* or *shall* eat it; לֹא תֹאכַל Gen. 2, 17 *thou mayest, shalt, or must, not eat* it; יִהְיֶה *it is about to be*, or, if spoken by a person with power to bring it about, *it shall be*, לֹא יִהְיֶה *it is not to be*.

24. But again, since the imperfect expresses an action not as *done*, but only as *doing*, as possessing consequently an element of uncertainty and indeterminateness, not

already fixed and defined but capable of assuming any form, or taking any direction which may be impressed upon it from without, it is used after conjunctions such as *לְמַעַן*, *בְּעֵבֶר*, *כִּי*, precisely as in Latin the corresponding terms are followed not by the indicative, the mood of certainty, but by the subjunctive, the mood of contingency. And, in accordance with the principle stated above that the Hebrew 'tenses' do not in themselves specify the period of time within which a given action must have happened, any of the *nuances* just assigned to the imperfect will retain their force in the past as well as in the present, the same tense is competent to connote both *is to* and *was to*, *may* and *might*, *can* and *could*, *will* and *would*, *shall* and *should*, in all the varied positions and shades of meaning which these auxiliaries may assume. Our English *will* and *would*, as commonly used to describe a custom or habit, correspond probably most closely to the Hebrew tense in this application; but obviously these terms would not be suitable to represent it always, and recourse must therefore be had to other expressions.

25. The imperfect, then, may characterize action as *potential*; but this potentiality may be expressed either (1) as a substantive and independent fact, i. e. the tense may appear as *indicative*; or (2) as regulated by the will of a personal agent, i. e. the tense may appear as *voluntative* (optative); or (3) as determined by some antecedent event, i. e. the tense may appear as *subjunctive*¹.

¹ It will be observed that this tripartite division is not maintained in what follows. The fact is that Hebrew, unlike Arabic, possesses no distinctive terminations to mark the subjunctive mood:

26. We may now proceed to arrange the various senses in which the imperfect is employed.

In the description of past occurrences it is used in two different ways, as explained above: 1. to represent an event while nascent (*γγιγνόμενον*), and so, by seizing upon it while in movement rather than while at rest, to picture it with peculiar vividness to the mental eye; and 2. as a frequentative, to suggest the reiteration of the event spoken of. In which of these senses it is on each occasion to be understood is left to the intelligence of the reader to determine; and this will not generally lead him astray. In cases where any doubt remains, it may be inferred either that the decision is immaterial, or else that the requisite data for forming one no longer exist as they must have done when the passage was written—a consideration which will of course account for much of the obscurity that rests upon the interpretation of ancient documents in all languages.

27. (1) This usage is naturally most frequent in a poetical or elevated style: but in prose equally the imperfect, if describing a single action and so not capable of explanation as a frequentative, operates by bringing into prominence the process introducing it and preliminary to its complete execution (as in Greek *κατεδύετο*, *was in course of sinking*). Here it may sometimes be rendered in English by the '*historical present*,' the effect of which is to present in strong relief and with especial

although therefore the imperfect fulfils the functions which elsewhere belong to a subjunctive, distinguishable as such, it is sufficient to notice the fact generally, without pausing to enquire upon each occasion whether the tense is indicative or subjunctive.

liveliness the features of the scene which it describes: but in fact, the idiom is one of those which our language is unable to reproduce: the student must *feel* the force of the tense in the Hebrew, and endeavour not to forget it as he reads the translation in English.

(a) First of all, in the language of poetry or prophecy; Ex. 15, 5 the depths **יְבַסְיָמוּ** covered them! 6. 7. 15. Num. 23, 7 and he took up his parable and said, From Aram Balaq **יִנְחֵנִי** bringeth me! Deut. 32, 10 **יִמְצְאֵהוּ** he found him (or findeth him) in a desert land! (contrast Hos. 9, 10 **מִצְאָתִי**). Judg. 2, 1 *I brought you up* out of Egypt etc. (placing in bright relief before the people's minds the event they had apparently lost sight of). 5, 8. 26. 29 (vivid pictures of Ja'el *stretching out* her hand, and the princesses in the act of *answering*). Isa. 43, 17. 45, 4 **אֶבְנֶה**. 5. 51, 2 Sarah **תְּהוּ לְלִבָּם** who bare you. Hab. 3, 3. 7. Job 3, 3 perish the day **בּוֹ אֲיָלֵד** I was being born in! (cf. Lam. 3, 57). 11 why did I not *go on to die* (at once die) from the womb? 4, 12. 15 f. 10, 10 f. 15, 7. 38, 8^b. Ps. 7, 16 and falleth into the pit: **יַפְעֵל** he is or was making¹. 18, 4². 7. 21. 30, 9 (Hitz. Del.). 32, 5^a. 80, 9^a. 104, 6-8. 116, 3 f. 6. Lam. 3, 8 when I *would fain cry*: see further § 85.

(β) In prose this use of the impf. is much rarer, except after **אִז** or **טָרַם**, which introduce or point to an ensuing event, and are accordingly constantly followed by this tense. Thus, for example, after **אִז** Ex. 15, 1 **אִז יִשִּׁיר** **אִז** then

¹ Not, as A. V., *made*; the impf. shews that the writer thought of the process as not completed—while *engaged upon carrying out* his design, the destruction overtakes him.

² 'In lebhaft erregter Rede die Vergangenheit wie Gegenwart geschaut' (Hitzig).

sang Moses (proceeded, began to sing). Deut. 4, 41. Josh. 8, 30. 10, 12. 22, 1. Ps. 69, 5. 126, 2 etc.; after טָרַם or בְּטָרַם all but universally, Gen. 2, 5. 19, 4. 24, 45. 1 Sam. 3, 3. 7^b etc.¹ The impf. is likewise found occasionally with reference to past time after עַר or עָרָה; but here the indefiniteness inherent in this conjunction being at times more perceptibly felt may have co-operated in the adoption of the impf. in preference to the perfect. Thus Josh. 10, 13 עָרָה יָקָם. Jon. 4, 5. Ps. 73, 17.¹ Qoh. 2, 3. 2 Chr. 29, 34².

(γ) The following instances are of an altogether exceptional character: after לָעַתָּה Deut. 32, 35³, or בְּעֵתָה Job 6, 17, יום Ps. 56, 4^a; 1 Ki. 21, 6 בְּיָמֵי אֲדָבִיר. Gen. 37, 7 וַהֲנֵה תִסְבִּינָה וְהָיָה וַיִּבְרָא וַיִּבְרָא וַיִּבְרָא and behold *they began to* move round (Joseph represents the sheaves as being in *motion*; conceive סָבוּ in place of 'ת, and how lifeless the image becomes!). Ex. 8, 20. 2 Sam. 15, 37 וַאֲבִשְׁלוֹם יָבוֹא (almost *started for*; the actual entry is recorded later, 16, 15 בָּאֵי). 23, 10. 1 Ki. 7, 8^b. 20, 33. 2 Ki. 8, 29 (=9, 15: but 2 Chr. 22, 6 the pf.). 13, 20. Jer. 52, 7. Ezra 9, 4 וַאֲסַפֵּי וְאֵלַי *came gathering* to me. On

¹ טָרַם is, however, also frequently found with the pf., Gen. 4, 26. Ex. 4, 26. 15, 15. 1 Ki. 22, 50 etc.: but טָרַם only very rarely, Gen. 24, 15 (contrast *v.* 45 above). 1 Sam. 3, 7^a (cf. 7^b); and בִּשְׂרָם Ps. 90, 2. Prov. 8, 25. Comp. the use of the impf. in Syriac, after מִן מִן Gen. 13, 10. Deut. 33, 1. 1 Sam. 9, 15. *Acta S. Pelagiae* (Gildemeister), 5, 21; מִן מִן John 17, 5; חָבַל 2 Ki. 6, 32. Jer. 1, 5 al.

² With the *perf.*, Deut. 2, 14. 9, 21. Josh. 2, 22 etc. It will be remembered how *antequam*, *priusquam*, and *donec* may be followed indifferently by a subjunctive or indicative, according to the mode in which the occurrence of the event is conceived by the writer.

³ This and the two following passages might also be explained according to § 38 a,—*ἔταν σφαλῆ*, LXX: *what time they wax warm*, A. V. The infin. is the usual construction after עַתָּה or יום.

some other isolated examples of the impf. occurring in the historical books, see § 85 *Obs.*

In poetry also it sometimes occurs immediately after a pf., in which case it indicates the rapid or instantaneous manner in which the second action is conceived as following the first: Ex. 15, 12. 14. Hab. 3, 10. Ps. 37, 14 f. 46, 7. 69, 33 (cf. 1 Sam. 19, 5). 74, 14. 77, 17¹.

28. But the impf. is also used in the same way of a single action in the *present* time, in order to express it with force, Gen. 37, 15. Num. 24, 17 וַיֵּרְאֵנִי *I see him, but not now!* 1 Sam. 21, 15 וַיִּתְרַחֵץ. Jer. 6, 4 the day *hath turned* (pf.), and the shadows of evening וַיִּבְטְאוּ *are beginning to lengthen.* Hos. 1, 2^b (or freq. *plays* the whore). Hab. 3, 9. 12. Job 4, 5. 6, 16. 21. Ps. 2, 2. 17, 12 he is like a lion וַיִּבְטְאוּ *eager for prey* (at the moment when he is eager).

29. More frequent is the use of the impf. as equivalent to the *future*—a use which is clearly only an extension of that noted in § 28: there the action is conceived to be taking place (but not completed) as the words are uttered; here it has not yet begun to take place at all, but its beginning to do so is contemplated in the future—nearer or more remote, as the context and sense demand. Numerous instances may readily be found, e. g. Gen. 12, 12^b. 16, 12. 49, 1. Ex. 6, 1. 9, 5 etc.²

¹ Ps. 66, 6. 104, 6 (where a word is interposed) are different. The same *ἀσύνδετον* is a favourite idiom with Hosea, 4, 7. 5, 10. 8, 3. 9, 6^a (see § 154). 7, 9 (cf. *v.* 15): see also 2 Chr. 12, 7.

² In the *first* pers. *I shall*, Gen. 15, 8. Judg. 13, 22. 15, 18. Isa. 38, 11. Jer. 4, 21^a. Job 17, 10: but most usually *I will*, 1 Ki. 2, 30. Ruth 1, 17. Gen. 2, 18. 6, 7. 8, 21. 12, 2 etc. Ps. 12, 6. 22, 26 etc. *I shall* is the pure and simple future—German *ich soll*, *I am to* or *must*; the speaker's own inclinations are dormant, and he regards himself as

If the future is close at hand, the verb may be rendered almost indifferently by a present or future: 1 Ki. 1, 42 **הַבְּשִׂרָה** *annunciaturus es, announcest or will announce*, art on the point of announcing. Ps. 2, 2. 59, 9.

30. (2) So much for the impf. as denoting a single act. By what steps it in addition assumes a frequentative signification has been explained above: it only remains to give instances of its use.

(a) In past time: Gen. 6, 4 **יָבִיאוּ**. 30, 38 **תָּבִיאוּ**. 42 *would not put them in*. 31, 39 **אֶת־פְּטוּנֵי** *used to bear the loss of it*. Ex. 1, 12 in proportion as they *afflicted* it, so it *multiplied*, and so it *spread abroad*. 19, 19. 40, 36. 38 (*used to be*). Num. 9, 16-23^a (describing what the Israelites *used constantly to do* in the desert: *v.* 23^b the whole is summed up, and stated generally as a single fact, in the pf. **שָׁמְרוּ**). Deut. 32, 16. 17. Josh. 23, 10 (*would often pursue*). Judg. 2, 18 (*would repent*). 6, 5 (*would come up*). 17, 6 = 18, 25 **יַעֲשֶׂה**. 1 Sam. 2, 22. 9, 9 **יִקְרָא**. 18, 5. 21, 12 **לָמָּה יַעֲנֵנִי** is not this he of whom *they kept singing?* (on the well-known occasion 18, 6. 7). 2 Sam. 1, 22 the sword of Saul **לֹא תָשׁוּב רִיקֵם** *never returned (was not wont to return) empty*. 12, 18 **כִּי כֵן תִּלְבַּשְׁנָה**. 1 Ki. 3, 4. 5, 28 a month **יִהְיוּ** *would they be* etc. 6, 8. 7, 26 **יִכִּיל** (*used to or would contain*). 38. 10, 5. 16 f. Isa. 1, 21 **יִלֵּן** *used to dwell*. 6, 2. 7, 23 (where the freq. and the fut. senses of the impf. meet in a single verse). 23, 7. 26, 11 Lord, thy hand was lifted up, **בַּל יַחֲיוּן**

the passive creature of circumstances: *I will*, on the contrary, is the exponent of a purpose or volition, and the *personal* interest of the speaker makes itself strongly felt. We may, if we please, substitute *I shall* for the more expressive *I will*, without materially altering the sense: the opposite change can, of course, not be made with impunity.

they saw it not, 42, 14^a etc. Ps. 42, 5. 55, 15. 95, 10. 99, 6 f. (with 7 comp. Num. 9, 23). 106, 43 (cf. Neh. 9, 27). Job 4, 3 f. 29, 2. 3. 7. 9. 12 f. 16 f. 19. 31, 1. 7. 13. 16 etc. 2 Chr. 24, 11. 25, 14.

31. The passages quoted will suffice amply to shew that when occurring in the historical books the impf. *always* expresses a deal more than the mere pf.: how far more picturesque, for example, is the scene Judg. 6, 5 rendered by the choice of ^{לְיָמָיו} than it would have been had the writer simply used the pf. ^{לְיָמָיו}! No more, then, need be said on the necessity of discriminating the impf. from the pf.; but a few words must be added to guard against the error of confusing it with the participle.

The only species of continued action to which the impf. can give expression is the introductory process which may culminate in the finished act, §§ 27 γ, 28; and even here its use is limited: *mere* continuance in the sense of duration *without progress* is never expressed by the impf.; wherever this seems to be the case, closer examination will shew that the apparently continuous action is not really indivisible, but consists of a number of separate acts which, following one another in rapid succession, present the appearance of perfect continuity, and may be actually treated as such by language. But the fact that the same series of events may be treated under two aspects must not lead us to confuse the form which gives expression to the one with the form that gives expression to the other. The participle is the form which indicates continued action. 'Forty years long *was I grieved* with this generation:' the English is ambiguous; it may correspond either to an original participle or to an original impf. As a fact it corresponds to the latter:

'forty years long אָקוּט *was I grieved,*' i. e. upon repeated occasions, not of necessity continuously. Similarly, מוֹשֶׁה מְדַבֵּר is '*Moses kept speaking:*' '*Moses was speaking*' would be expressed by the part. מוֹשֶׁה מְדַבֵּר (see 1 Ki. 1, 25. 42 etc.). Thus while the impf. multiplies an action, the participle prolongs it. Sometimes the two forms are found in juxtaposition, as Ps. 99, 6; but however closely they may seem to resemble each other in meaning, and even where they would admit of an interchange without material alteration or detriment to the sense, it must not be forgotten that they are still quite different, and that each seizes upon and brings into view a distinct phase of action.

The difference between the impf. and the part. is most clearly displayed in passages like Gen. 29, 2 רבצים *were lying*, ישקו *used to water*. 1 Sam. 2, 13 f. 1 Ki. 10, 22. Isa. 6, 2 (*were standing*, at the period of the vision—*used to cover*, fly). At other times, on the contrary, the separate units of which the series actually consists are lost from sight and replaced by a continuous line¹: e. g. Gen. 39, 6 אוכל (contrast 2 Sam. 12, 3 תאכל). 23 (contr. Ps. 1, 3. 1 Sam. 14, 47). 1 Ki. 17, 6 מביאים (but also ישתה). 2 Ki. 4, 5. Ps. 37, 12. 21. 26.

32. (β) In present time. It may be well here, in order to avoid confusion, to remind ourselves of an ambiguity existing in the English present tense. The present tense

¹ Accordingly the participle, filling up the intervals which the impf. leaves open, is adapted to magnify or exaggerate any circumstance: cf. 1 Ki. 10, 24 f. Ex. 18, 14 (where observe how in this way Jethro represents Moses as being more fully and continuously occupied than the latter in his reply is willing to admit). Esth. 3, 2 and the reversal of the picture in 8, 17^b. 9, 3.

in English, besides declaring single and isolated facts, is constantly used to express general truths, to state facts which need not necessarily take place at the moment at which the assertion is being made, but which either *may* occur at *any* time or do *actually* occur periodically: in other words, the present tense appears as a *frequentative*: it *multiplies* an action, and distributes it over an indefinite number of potential or actual realizations. And, in fact, this use of the present in English to denote acts which may be or are repeated, is more common than any other. But it is just this frequentative or distributive force which the Hebrew impf. possesses, asserting, as it does, facts which either *may be* realized at any time, or *are* realized repeatedly. Our present, therefore, and the Hebrew impf. agree in a remarkable manner in being able to specify actions which though not in themselves appertaining to any particular period of time whatever, *may* nevertheless make their appearance at any or every moment. This distinction between the two senses of our present tense it is important here to keep in mind: because the Hebrew impf., while but rarely found in one sense, is extremely common in the other. When, therefore, it is said that this tense corresponds to the English 'present,' it is necessary to have a clear and precise view of what this statement really means.

33. The imperfect, then, is found—

(a) Asserting facts of definite occurrence—within a longer or shorter period, as the case may be: Ex. 13, 15 אֶפְדֶּה *I redeem* (am in the habit of redeeming). 18, 15 the people יָבֵא *cometh* to me (keep coming). Gen. 10, 9, 22, 14 therefore יֵאמַר *it is said*; so יֵאמְרוּ Num. 21, 27. 2 Sam. 5, 8^b; Num. 17, 19 where אֶנְדַּע לָכֶם *I meet you*. Josh. 7, 12.

Gen. 50, 3 ימלאו כי בן ימלאו for so are wont to be fulfilled. Judg. 14, 10 for so young men are accustomed to do. 1 Sam. 9, 6. 2 Sam. 11, 20 how they shoot. 14, 15 for they make me afraid. Isa. 1, 23. 3, 16^b. 5, 11. 23. 14, 8 doth not come up (never cometh up, where notice how never distributes the verb). 27, 3. 40, 20 יבקש. 41, 6 (a graphic verse). 44, 17. 59, 11. Jer. 9, 3. 20, 8. Hos. 4, 12 f. Ps. 3, 6 יסמכני sustaineth me. 10, 5. 8-10. 11, 2. 12, 3. 16, 4. 17, 9. 18, 29 because THOU dost lighten. 22, 3. 8. 18^b. 23, 2 f. 35, 11 f. 41, 7 f. 42, 2^b. 46, 5. 64, 5-7. 71, 17 till now do I keep declaring thy wonders. 94, 4-6. Job 9, 11 he goeth by me, and I see him not. 23, 8 f.; after כִּי־יָדַע as often as, Jer. 20, 8 (elsewhere the infinitive).

To express a characteristic of an individual: Ps. 1, 2 Happy is the man who ... יְהַיֶּהֱמָה meditateth. 15, 4 who יְכַבֵּד honoureth etc. 17, 14. 38, 14^b. 52, 9 יֵשִׁים (contrast 40, 5 שָׂם). 58, 6. 91, 5-6. Isa. 40, 26 he calleth. 28 f. 41, 2 f. 56, 2.

Obs. Frequent as the idiom יי אומר כה is in the prophets, the *impf.* יי אומר, introduced parenthetically, is exceptional and should be noticed: the call is not a single, momentary one, it is repeated, or at least continuing. The instances are Isa. 1, 11. 18. 33, 10 (Ps. 12, 6). 40, 1. 25. 41, 21. 66, 9: and similarly Jer. 51, 35. Prov. 20, 14. 23, 7.

(b) Asserting facts, which are not conceived as definitely occurring within stated or implied limits of time, but as liable to occur at any period that may be chosen: e. g. in the enunciation of general maxims or truths, Ps. 1, 3 which giveth (is always ready to give, in the habit of giving) its fruit in due season, and its leaf doth not fade, and all that he doeth he maketh to prosper, 4 driveth away, 5 do not stand or endure (are not in the habit of gaining their cause), 6 perisheth ('will' perish, i. e. either as a pure future, however sure it may seem to appear for a time, it

will in the end perish; or as a frequentative, implying what may be expected to occur, wherever there is a (דרך רשעים). 1 Sam. 16, 7 יִרְאֶה. 24, 14. Isa. 32, 6. 40, 31. Hos. 4, 11. Ps. 5, 5-7. 7, 9 *judgeth* nations (a general attribute, forming the ground for the petition which follows). 10, 14. 11, 4. 17, 2^b thine eyes *behold* (ground of 2^a). 18, 26-28. 39, 7. 48, 8. 49, 11. 65, 9. 68, 20. 104, 11-17. 22; in the Proverbs constantly, the perfect (§ 15) being less usual, 10, 1. 2. 3. 4 etc. 13, 5 a righteous man *will* hate lying ('will' expressing the habit). 26, 14 the door *turns* upon its hinge, and a sluggard upon his bed. Job 5, 2. 6. 7^b. 12. 14. 18 etc.; regularly also in similes (though not, of course, where a past fact is referred to; as Isa. 20, 3 כַּאֲשֶׁר הָלַךְ). Ex. 33, 11 כְּאִשֶּׁר יְדַבֵּר as a man *speaketh* with his neighbour. Num. 11, 12. Deut. 1, 44. 28, 49. Isa. 9, 2. 31, 4. 55, 10. 65, 8. Jer. 13, 11. 43, 12.

34. This form of the verb, expressing as it does a general truth, is sometimes found attached to a substantive, the relative being omitted, to denote a general attribute belonging to it: under these circumstances it almost degenerates into an adjective. Thus Gen. 49, 27 Benjamin is יִטְרֵף יָאֵב a *ravens* wolf (lit. a wolf (that) ravens). Isa. 40, 20 לֹא יִרְקַב לֵא. 51, 12 יָמוּת אָנוּשׁ *mortal* man. 55, 13 an *indestructible* sign. Hos. 4, 14 a people לֹא יָבִין without understanding; cf. Ps. 78, 6 יִלְדוּ בָנִים (22, 32 the part.). And in comparisons, to define more closely the *tertium comparationis*, whether it be regarded as expressing pictorially a particular act (§ 28), or as describing a general attribute: Deut. 32, 11. Ps. 42, 2 like the hind, *as* it desires (or, *which* desires) the water-brooks. 83, 15. 92, 13^b. Job 7, 2 as a servant לֵאשֶׁר עַל יִשְׂאֵף *that longeth* (or *longing*) for the shade. 9, 26^b like an eagle לֵאשֶׁר עָלֵי אֶבֶל *as it darts*

upon the prey. Isa. 61, 10-11. 62, 1^b כּלפּיר יבער as a *burning* lamp¹. Or it is attached to another verb, so as to qualify it almost in the manner of an adverb, Isa. 30, 14 bruising לֹא יִחַמֵּל *unsparingly*². 64, 2. Ps. 17, 3 *without finding* (qualifying צרפּתני). 26, 1 I have trusted לֹא אֲמַעַד *without wavering* (Hitz. Del.). Job 8, 12³.

35. It appears from what has been said that both the perf. and the impf. alike, though upon different grounds, may be employed to designate those permanent relations which constitute on the one hand personal habits or attributes, on the other general truths. A permanent relation of this sort may, firstly, be viewed as a completed whole, and, as such, be denoted by the perfect; but inasmuch as a state or condition most commonly declares itself by a succession of acts—more or less numerous, as the case may be—its existence may, at the same time, with equal propriety, be indicated by the impf. as well. It is accordingly at once intelligible upon what principle we frequently find the two tenses alternating—for example in the two members of a verse—when used in this way; the interchange being naturally encouraged by the agreeable variety and relief thereby afforded to the ear. Sometimes the change of tense may be retained in English: at other times it will be simpler and less pedantic—a minor grammatical distinction, unless absolutely indispensable for the sense, must be given up if its preservation involve stiffness or sound unnatural—to render both tenses by what is here, in English, the idiomatic equivalent of both, viz. the

¹ At other times, naturally, the perf. is more appropriate: Jer. 23, 9. Job 11, 16 כּמֵיַם עֲבָרוּ as waters that *have passed by*. 13, 28^b.

² If with Baer we read כּהוּת לֹא יִחַמֵּל will qualify וּשְׁבֵרָה.

³ See further, Appendix I.

present. Yet, however we translate, it must not be forgotten that a difference still exists in the words of the original, and that each tense possesses a propriety the force of which is still perceptible, even where it cannot be reproduced; it is simply the imperfection, in this respect, of our own language, its deficiency in delicacy that necessitates our obliterating the lights and shades which an otherwise constructed instrument is capable of expressing.

Thus Isa. 5, 12^b. 26, 9^a. 33, 7. 40, 19. 44, 12-18. Hos. 7, 1^b. Joel 2, 3^a. 6. Hab. 3, 3. Ps. 2, 1 f. 5, 6 (*cannot stand . . . thou hatest*). 6, 7 (the pf., as 8, expressing his completed state of exhaustion; the impff. his repeated acts). 7, 13 f. (he *hath* prepared instruments of death: his arrows he *maketh* (or *is making*) flaming!). 11, 5, 7 the upright *behold* his face. 16, 9 יִשְׁבֶּן (parallel to שִׁכְּוֹן) *dwell* or *can dwell*. 22, 16. 23, 5. 26, 4. 5. 38, 12. 62, 5. 65, 14. 73, 7-9. 27. 74, 1. 84, 3. 93, 3. 102, 15. 109, 3 f. Prov. 4, 17. 12, 12. 28, 1. Job 3, 17. 11, 20. 12, 20 f. 14, 18 f. 15, 9. 39, 29 etc.¹

36. It will now, moreover, be apparent how the impf., especially if suddenly introduced ἀσυνδέτως, may be effectively employed by prophets and poets in the description of a scene or series of events not merely to vary the style of narrative, but to throw into what would otherwise have been a motionless picture the animation and vigour of life. Thus, for example, Isa. 2, 8 and the land is filled with idols, to the work of their own hands יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ *they bow*

¹ Cf. also Lev. 11, 4-6, where we have the part., impf., and pf. in succession employed, from different points of view, to describe the same attribute.

down! 3, 16^b (designed to make the reader realize forcibly the image presented by וַיִּתְּלַכְנֵהּ). 5, 15^b (to suppose this to be a pure future is to assume too abrupt a transition from the point of view of the preceding and following verbs. The prophet is rather describing a scene he sees in vision, in the language of history, and confers a passing vividness upon a particular feature). 9, 10 and his enemies *he armeth*. 16. 17. 18^b. 19^b the people has become as fuel for fire, none *spareth* (or *is sparing*) his brother! 10, 4. 28. 14, 10 (after the pff. 9). 15, 2^b. 3^b. 4^b. 24, 9 etc. Joel 2, 3 ff. Nah. 2, 5 f.

37. The imperfect, as we saw above, expresses not merely simple futurity (I shall, thou wilt, he will), but is equivalent further to the same auxiliaries in their other and more emphatic capacity as the exponents of volition (I will, thou shalt, he shall). We saw further that it possesses a potential and concessive force, corresponding to *can* and *may*. In past time, or in oratio obliqua, these auxiliaries naturally suffer in English a change of tense, becoming respectively *should*, *would*, *could*, and *might*. Some instances of the impf. occurring with these significations will now be given: it is noticeable, however, that frequently we are by no means restricted to a single equivalent in translating¹.

(a) Gen. 41, 15 וַתִּשְׁמַע thou *canst* understand a dream

¹ The senses which follow I have arranged simply with reference to the auxiliaries as they are met with in English, without stopping to enquire, except incidentally, how far any of the latter may bear equivocal meanings. Had space allowed, it would have been interesting to examine and distinguish them more closely; I hope, however, that enough has been said to place the Hebrew usage beyond the reach of confusion or mistake.

(or simply *dost* understand; and similarly in the other passages). Ex. 4, 14. Num. 35, 33 יִכַּפֵּר. 1 Ki. 3, 8. 8, 27 *cannot* or *will not* contain thee. 2 Ki. 6, 12 Elijah *can* tell. Job 4, 19 whom men *can* crush (i. e. who are crushed) before the moth. Ps. 5, 8¹. 18, 30; in questions, Isa. 49, 15^a *can* (or *will*) a woman forget, etc. Ezek. 28, 9. Job 8, 11. 38, 34 f. 40, 25 f.; and with מִי, Ps. 15, 1. Isa. 33, 14. Ex. 4, 11^b who *maketh* (or *can make*) dumb? etc. Prov. 20, 9 מִי יֹאמֵר זַפִּיתִי לְבִי.

(β) 1 Ki. 8, 5 oxen לֹא-יִסְפְּרוּ that *could* not be counted. Hos. 2, 1 (= innumerable). Jer. 24, 2 figs that *could* not be eaten (= uneatable). Ezek. 20, 25 statutes they *could* not live in. 1 Ki. 18, 10 that לֹא-יִמְצְאוּבָה he *could* not find thee (not : לֹא-יִמְצְאוּךָ had not found thee). Job 38, 31 couldst thou bind? 39, 19 f.

38. (a) Gen. 2, 16 ye *may* eat. 42, 37 thou *mayest* (or *shalt*) kill my two sons, if etc. Ex. 19, 13^b. Num. 35, 28 the slayer *may* return. Lev. 22, 23. Deut. 5, 20 we see God *may* speak with a man, and he (yet) live. 12, 20 תֵּאָבֵל. Judg. 16, 6 wherewith thou *canst* (or *mightest*, A. V.) be bound. Isa. 40, 30 *may* weary. 49, 15^b (cf. Ps. 91, 7). Ps. 30, 6. Job 14, 21. 21, 3^b.

Sometimes in a defiant sense: Ps. 12, 9. 14, 6 תִּבְיָשׁוּ ye *may* put to shame (if ye like! it matters not). 46, 4 (prob.). 91, 13. 109, 28 *they* may curse, but do *thou* bless! Mal. 1, 4.

In the preceding instances the impf. is equivalent to *may* in its permissive or concessive capacity; in those which

¹ Cf. Delitzsch: 'die Futt. v. 8 besagen was er thun darf und thun wird: durch die Grösse göttlicher Gnade hat er Zugang zum Heiligthum.' Comp. Isa. 26, 13.

follow it corresponds to *may* as a term indicating indefiniteness. In the former case, therefore, the tense expresses an independent idea (*licet, ἔξεστω*), and is consequently indicative; in the latter, it conveys the notion of dependency, and accordingly assumes the position and force of a true subjunctive.

Ex. 5, 11. 8, 23 we will sacrifice **יֹאמַר פְּאִשֶׁר** as he *may* command us (see 10, 26). 9, 19. LXX ὅσα ἐὰν εὗρεθῆ. 2 Ki. 12, 5. Prov. 4, 19.

(β) And in past time: Gen. 2, 19 *πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἐκάλεισεν*. Ex. 34, 34 whatever he *might* be commanded¹. Deut. 4, 42 the murderer who *might* slay his neighbour. Josh. 9, 27 which he *might* choose. Judg. 17, 8. 1 Sam. 23, 13². 2 Sam. 15, 6 **יָבֹא** (or *used to come*). 1 Ki. 5, 8 יהיה. 2 Chr. 2, 11 (qui aedificaret). Ezek. 1, 12 *ὅς ἂν ἦν*.

39. (α) Expressing a command: Gen. 3, 14. Ex. 21, 12 מות ימֹת he *shall* be put to death, 14. 15 etc. Num. 15, 14 as ye do, **כֵּן יַעֲשֶׂה** so *shall* he do. 36, 7. 9 **יִדְבְּקוּ**, and regularly in prohibitions (which indeed can be expressed in no other way), Gen. 2, 17. Ex. 20, 3-17 etc.

With a different *nuance*: Ex. 22, 26 in what (else) **יִשְׁכַּב** is he *to* lie? Num. 23, 8 how **אֶקְבֵּל** shall I (or *can I, am I to*) curse? 1 Sam. 20, 5 to-morrow I *ought* to sit. 2 Ki. 20,

¹ Or **יִצְוָה** may be merely freq., like the preceding **יִקְרֶה**.

² Cf. similar phrases 2 Sam. 15, 20; Ex. 4, 13. 16, 23. 2 Ki. 8, 1. Hos. 9, 14; Ezek. 12, 25. Ex. 33, 19; Zech. 10, 8. Here also should be mentioned the Divine name אהיה אשר אהיה, Ex. 3, 14, *I become that I become, or I will be that I will be* (i. e. no words can sum up all that God will be to his people). See especially Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament* [T. and T. Clark], § 39, and an article by Professor Robertson Smith in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, 1876, p. 153. אהיה does not occur with the signification *I am*.

9 or ישוב *shall* it return ten degrees? Isa. 1, 5 (Hitz. Del.) why *will ye* be still smitten? 21, 12 if ye *would* enquire, enquire! and in dependent sentences: Ex. 3, 3. 10, 26 we do not know מִה־נַעֲבֹד how we shall (or *are to*) serve Yahweh, till etc. 18, 20. 1 Ki. 8, 36. Ps. 32, 8; Gen. 4, 7 ואתה בו חמשל but thou *shouldst* or *must* rule over him. 20, 9 deeds that *should* or *ought* not to be done. 34, 7. Lev. 4, 1. 13 אשר לא תעשונה; Job 9, 29 I *must* (or *am to be*) guilty (viz. in the judgment of another; comp. Hitz.). 1 Sam. 14, 43^b.

(β) And in the past, or oratio obliqua:—Gen. 34, 31. 43, 7 הִירוּעַ נָרַע *were* we possibly *to* know? (or *could* we know?) Judg. 5, 8 *was* there *to* be seen? (or *could* there be seen? = *was* there *ever* seen?) 2 Sam. 3, 33 *was* Abner *to* die as a fool dieth? (ימית, quite different from הִמִּית *did he die?*) 1 Ki. 7, 7 (= οὐ ἔμελλε κρῖναι). 2 Ki. 3, 27 he took his firstborn ὁς ἔμελλε βασιλεύειν. 13, 14 the illness which he *was to* die of. Jer. 51, 60; Gen. 2, 19 to see מה יקרא what he *would* call them. 43, 7 בי יאמר. 25 for they heard חם לאכלו לָחַם כי שם יאכלו לָחַם that they *would* (or *were to*) eat bread there. 48, 17 וירא יוסף כי ישית אביו *was putting* etc. Ex. 2, 4. Num. 15, 34. 24, 11 I said I *would* honour thee. 1 Sam. 22, 22. Isa. 48, 8; 2 Ki. 17, 28 he taught them יִרְאוּ אֵיךְ יִרְאוּ how they *ought to* fear Yahweh. Further, with בִּי or אַשְׁרֵי after words expressive of a desire or command, though mostly only in the later prose, in cases where the earlier language would either make use of some direct expression or employ the infinitive: Neh. 8, 14 f. 13, 1. Job 36, 10; Ezra 10, 8. Est. 9, 27 f.; 2 Sam. 18, 3 it is better בִּי־תִהְיֶה־לְּנִי that thou *shouldst be* (ready) to help us from the city. Job 10, 3. Qoh. 5, 4 (compare Gen. 2, 18. 29, 19. Ex. 14, 12. Jud. 18, 19 is it better הוֹתֵךְ כֹּהֵן *thy being* a priest etc.?). Neh. 2, 5. 13, 22.

Est. 2, 10 (contrast Ps. 27, 4 **שְׁבִתִּי**). Deut. 10, 12. Mic. 6, 8; 2 Sam. 3, 13^b). In poetry, cf. Jer. 5, 22. Ps. 104, 9. Prov. 8, 29.

(γ) Moreover, in questions after **לָמָּה** (or **לָמָּה**), **אֵיךְ**, **כִּדְרִיעַ**, instead of the outspoken, categorical perf., the impf. as more courteous, more adapted to a tone of entreaty or deprecation, is often preferred¹: thus Gen. 44, 7. Ex. 2, 13 why **תִּכָּה** *shouldest* thou smite thy neighbour? 5, 15 (addressing a superior). 32, 11. 1 Sam. 21, 15. Ps. 111, 1. Job 3, 20². Similarly, the less direct form of question (**תִּבְּאֵן**) **מֵאַיִן תִּבְּאֵן** (or **אֵי-מָוֶה**) *whence may you be coming?* appears to have been adopted from a sense of its greater politeness as the conventional greeting, in preference to the perfect (which indeed occurs but twice, Gen. 16, 8. 42, 7); e.g. Josh. 9, 8. Jud. 17, 9. 19, 17 etc.³

(δ) Exod. 3, 11 *qualis sum* **כִּי אֲנִי** *ut aadam?* 16, 7. Num. 11, 12. Job 6, 11. 7, 12 etc. 2 Ki. 8, 13 what is thy servant, the dog (2 Sam. 9, 8), that he *should* do this great thing? Isa. 57, 11. Ps. 8, 5 and in the parody Job 7, 17.

Obs. The analogous idiom with the *perfect* likewise occurs: Ruth 1, 12 that *I should have said*, I have hope. Gen. 40, 15 that they *should have* put me. 1 Sam. 17, 26^b. Isa. 43, 22. Ps. 44, 19 f. that thou *shouldest have* crushed us; while in Isa. 29, 16 we find both tenses side by side. And with the ptcp., 1 Sam. 20, 1. Ezek. 24, 19.

¹ And of course when the speaker desires to avert or deprecate an action which is only impending, or not finally completed, as Num. 27, 4. 1 Sam. 19, 5. 17. 2 Sam. 16, 9; cf. also Gen. 44, 34. Ps. 137, 1 how *shall* (or *can*) we sing? Jer. 47, 7. 1 Sam. 20, 2 why *should* he hide? Contrast the pf. Gen. 26, 9. 2 Sam. 1, 14.

² Contrast the different language, 2 Sam. 16, 10. 1 Ki. 1, 6.

³ So Dietrich, *Abhandlungen*, p. 111. Compare in Greek the modest expression of an opinion, or request, by the opt. with *άν*, e.g. Gorgias 449 B *άν ούν έθελήσαις άν, ώ Γοργία, κ. τ. λ.*

40. For the impf., as signifying *would* in the apodosis, and generally for its use in hypothetical propositions, see Chap. XI.

41. Lastly, the imperfect is used after *final* conjunctions, as (אֲשֶׁר) לְמַעַן בְּעֵבֶר, *in order that*, Gen. 27, 4. 10. 19. 25 etc. כִּן *lest*, 3, 22; further, after אִילֵּי *perhaps*, אִם *if*, אֲשֶׁר *who so*, and other similar words. לְבַלְתִּי also, though construed with the infinitive by preference, is twice followed by the impf., Ex. 20, 20 לְבַלְתִּי תַחַטּוּ. 2 Sam. 14, 14; and מִן יִקְוּמוּן occurs similarly once, Deut. 33, 11 מִן יִקְוּמוּן *that they rise not again* (= מִן יִקְוּמוּן יִקְוּמוּן = מִקְוִים, which would be the normal construction, Gen. 16, 2. 31, 29. Isa. 24, 10. Job 34, 30). For additional instances the reader is referred to § 115.

Obs. Two or three times כִּן is found with a perfect, 2 Sam. 20, 6. 2 Ki. 2, 16 (followed by כִּן), the result feared being conceived as having possibly already taken place (exactly as Thuc. 3, 53 οὐδὲ φοβούμεθα μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἡμάρτηκαμεν); cf. likewise 10, 23. Thrice also, Jer. 23, 14. 27, 18. Ezek. 13, 22, לְבַלְתִּי is followed, apparently, by the same tense, though, as it would seem, incompatible with the meaning borne by this conjunction. But in Ezek. we must render, 'and after (that which) they have not seen' [Ew. Hitz.]; in Jer. 27, the abnormal punctuation כִּן אֲשֶׁר seems due to a feeling—perhaps to a tradition—that the impf. was really demanded, and we should most probably therefore restore כִּן אֲשֶׁר, the first letter of which might readily drop out after the י of לְבַלְתִּי. In Jer. 23, it is suggested by Graf that the pf. may have been chosen intentionally, the result being 'not merely designed, but having actually been realized:' were the final signification of לְבַלְתִּי no more strongly marked than that of the Greek ὡστε, such an explanation might indeed be admissible, but as this is not the case, it seems to me more reasonable, in the absence of grammatical analogy supporting the pf., to suppose an error of transcription for כִּן אֲשֶׁר, and to restore אֲשֶׁר. Many instances of the accidental transposition of letters occur in the O.T.: 62 noted by the Masora (some, however, assumed needlessly) are collected in

the *Ochlah w' ochlah*, edited by Frensdorff (Hannover, 1864), No. 91; see e. g. Josh. 6, 13. Jer. 2, 25. 8, 6. 17, 23. 32, 23. In Josh. 4, 24 the perf. after למען is still less defensible: but here again the punctuation is already irregular (יִרְאֶהָ, whereas elsewhere the pf. of יָרָא exhibits uniformly *šere*), and it is better, with Ewald, § 337^b, to read the infinitive יִרְאֶהָ.

42. The following passages are left to the reader to examine for himself: to some of them we may, perhaps, have occasion to revert elsewhere. (a) Judg. 6, 4. 1 Sam. 27, 9. 1 Ki. 7, 15. Prov. 7, 8. 1 Sam. 13, 17. Neh. 3, 14 f. Jer. 13, 7; לֹא יִבְלֵ Gen. 48, 10. Josh. 15, 63 Kt. 1 Sam. 3, 2. 2 Sam. 17, 17. (β) Gen. 2, 25 יִתְבַּשֵׁוּ. Judg. 12 6 לֹא יִבִּין. 1 Sam. 1, 7^b. 2, 25. 27, 4 Kt. 2 Sam. 2, 28. 1 Ki. 1, 1. 8, 8. Jer. 5, 22. 6, 10. 20, 11. 44, 22. Ps. 44, 10. Job 42, 3. Lam. 3, 7. Cant. 3, 4. Dan. 12, 8.

43. At this point it may be worth while, even at the risk of some repetition, to indicate briefly one or two of the more important *general* results which I trust will have become clear in the course of this and the preceding chapter. The reader who has attentively followed the analysis which has been there given of the nature and use of the Hebrew tenses will, I hope, find himself able to appreciate and realize, more fully than was possible at an earlier stage, the truth and purport of the considerations advanced in the Introduction. He will recognize, in the first place, the importance and wide application of the distinction there drawn between *kind* of time and *order* of time. By means of this distinction it at once becomes possible to explain both the theory of the Hebrew tenses and the practice of the Hebrew writers. *Diversity of order is fully compatible with identity of kind*; this explains the theory: *identity of order in no way excludes diversity of kind*; this explains the practice.

‘Diversity of order is compatible with identity of kind.’ Differences of order (or date), then, are not *necessarily* attended by concomitant differences of tense: the *future*, as well as the past, may be indicated by the form expressive of the idea of completion; the *past* (under particular aspects), no less than the future, may be described by the form which denotes action as inchoative or incomplete. Each tense, indeed, but especially the imperfect, exhibits a singular flexibility: at the same time it will be clear that this flexibility does not overreach the limits prescribed by the most rigorous logic. The meanings assumed, however divergent, do not in reality involve any contradiction: a fundamental principle can be discovered which will embrace them all—a higher unity exists in which they meet and are reconciled. The idea of incipiency, for instance, need not, as might at first sight appear necessary, be confined to that which is imminent in the future: it may with equal propriety (as has been shewn) characterize the past, or it may afford, by an easy transition, the means of describing contingent or reiterated action. And the steps by which this is effected are intelligible and plain: they rest upon no violent hypothesis, they call for no unnatural or artificial suppositions. Although, however, one paradox which the use of the tenses seems to present is hereby solved, there still remains another difficulty, which these considerations do not touch. If a difference of *tense* is no criterion of difference of *date*, if events occurring at every conceivable moment of time *must* be denoted by two forms, and *may* be denoted by one, how is it possible to avoid ambiguity? In a language of which the cardinal and most vital constituent seems, like an unsubstantial shadow

—‘par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno,’—to elude and evade our grasp, how is certainty ever attainable? The answer has been already incidentally alluded to more than once. The *context*, carefully and intelligently studied, constitutes the differentiating factor which *fixes* the signification of the tense. Taken by itself the meaning of the tense may be ambiguous and uncertain: a reference to the context—to the whole of which it is itself an inseparable part—makes clear the relation subsisting between them, and reduces the ambiguity to a minimum.

But, secondly, ‘identity of order in no way excludes diversity of kind.’ One and the same event may be described either as nascent, or as completed: each tense, therefore, preserves always its own proper force, which must not be lost sight of because difficult of reproduction in another language, or because the genius of our own tongue would have been satisfied with, perhaps, some more obvious mode of expression. The line of demarcation between the two tenses is as clearly and sharply drawn as between the aorist (or perfect) and the imperfect in Greek or Latin. Whichever tense is used, it is used by the writer *with a purpose*: by the choice of the other tense, the action described would have been presented under a more or less modified aspect. הָן הִבְהִיעוּר וַיִּנְחָלִים Ps. 78, 20 the change of tense is no less marked, the colouring imparted by it to the description no less perceptible, than in the line ‘*Conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant,*’ where the effect produced by the variation is closely similar. And often there is a manifest beauty and propriety in the tense selected. Ps. 19, 2-4 the *continual* declaration of the heavens, the *reiterated* announcement of day and night, the *established fact* that this

proclamation is audible wherever their dominion extends, could not be more concisely and expressively indicated than is here done by a simple variation in tense¹. And few languages would indicate as much with greater ease and neatness, or by a lighter touch. This single instance will suffice to shew how much may be lost by disregarding a seemingly slight and trivial change: to examine and note the exact force of each tense he meets, until practice enables him to catch it instinctively and without reflection, should be the first duty of the student.

¹ Compare Jer. 36, 18 (the process of dictation described with precision—*וואני כהב על הספר בדיו*—(ברוך מפיו יקרא אלי)).

A curious misreading of a paragraph in Gesenius, in consequence of which the writer, without the smallest misgivings, transfers to the perfect a sense belonging to the imperfect, may be seen in the *Speaker's Commentary*, iv. 623^b.

CHAPTER IV.

The Cohortative and Jussive.

44. WE saw above, § 23, how readily the imperfect might lend itself so as to become the vehicle for expressing a volition; and of its use with a permissive force we have already seen examples in § 38. There the imperfect appeared with its form unaltered: and this is often the case, not merely when this permissive force becomes so intensified as to be equivalent to a petition or a command (see, for example, Ps. 17, 8. 43, 1. 51, 9 f. 14. 59, 2. 60, 3. 61, 7 f. etc., where it is parallel to the imperative¹), but also when it is used in the first person² to express an intention or desire on the part of the speaker—the mere future ‘I shall’ gliding insensibly into the more decided ‘I will.’ But Hebrew possesses two special forms, commonly known as the *jussive* and

¹ And add Gen. 1, 9. 41, 34. Judg. 6, 39. 1 Ki. 15, 19. Isa. 47, 3. Ps. 109, 7. Job 3, 9. Neh. 2, 3 al. In many of these passages the unshortened form occurs in close proximity to an actual jussive.

² Not so often, however, as with the second or third persons, in which the modal force can be less frequently distinguished by the form: cf. 1 Sam. 12, 19. 2 Sam. 10, 12. Jer. 8, 14. Ps. 59, 17 (cf. 18). 2 Sam. 22, 50 (Ps. 18, 50 אֶזְמְרָה). Judg. 5, 3. Job 21, 3. 33, 31 (13, 13 אֶדְבֶּרָה).

*cohortative*¹, which are very frequently used to indicate more explicitly when the imperfect bears these two significations respectively. Both these forms exist in Arabic in a more complete and original condition than they exhibit in Hebrew: developed at an early period in the history of the Semitic languages, in Arabic after having reached a certain point of perfection, they there remained stationary, without experiencing any of the levelling influences which caused them partially to disappear in Hebrew. Although, however, limited in range of application, their distinctive character remained substantially unimpaired; and they continued to constitute an integral and important element in the syntax of the language.

45. The *cohortative* is scarcely ever found except with the first² person, either sing. or plur. as the case may be. It is formed by adding to the verb the termination ה־ָ³ (e. g. אֶקְטֹלָהּ; but if preceded by a long vowel it is toneless, like ה־ָ *locale*⁴, and in accordance with the rule mentioned p. 21, as ה־ָשׁוּבָה), which has the effect of marking with peculiar emphasis the concentration of the will upon a particular object—נִלְכְּהָ *let us go, we would fain go*, the idea being expressed with more keenness and energy, and with a deeper personal interest or emotion, than by the mere imperfect נִלְכֶּה.

¹ I sometimes use the common term *voluntative* to embrace both.

² See, however, Deut. 33, 16. Job 11, 17. 22, 21. Isa. 5, 19. Ps. 20, 4.

³ Or once ה־ָ. Ps. 20, 4, cf. 1 Sam. 28, 15; and similarly in the imperative once or twice, ה־ָ Prov. 24, 14 for the usual ה־ָ, and ה־ָ Judg. 9, 29; compare Isa. 59, 5. Zech. 5, 4. Ezek. 25, 13 (quoted by Delitzsch).

⁴ In thus comparing the ה־ָ *locale* with the ה־ָ of the cohortative, I do not wish to assert or assume their original identity.

46. The *jussive*, on the other hand, belongs almost exclusively to the second and third persons¹ (in the second person principally after אַל, which is not used with the imperative). It is obtained by shortening the imperfect in such a manner as the form of each particular word will allow: e. g. יִכְרֹת from יִכְרֹת, יִגַּל (through the intermediate, but seldom actually occurring type, יִגְלֵ) from יִגְלֵ (Hif.), תִּגְלֵ from תִּגְלֵה, etc.² Now what is the significance of this abbreviation or apocopation? From the manner in which the jussive is commonly used, it is generally supposed to have arisen from the quickened and hasty pronunciation of a person issuing a command: the curtness and compactness of the form corresponding to the abrupt and peremptory tone which the language of one in such a situation would naturally assume³. There are, however, a considerable number of passages occurring

¹ The exceptions are 1 Sam. 14, 36. Isa. 41, 23 Kt. 28. 42, 6; and cf. Job 23, 9. 11.

² The analogy between the abbreviated forms in verbs ל"ה and the forms of segolate nouns is very complete and worth noticing: thus יִגְלֵ : יִגְלֵ (presupposed from יִגְלֵה; cf. יִרְדֵּ, יִפְתֵּ) :: יִרְדֵּ : יִרְדֵּ (presupposed from יִרְדֵּי); with יִעֲשֵׂה cf. יִעֲשֵׂה, with יִתַּע, יִתַּע, with יִתַּע, יִתַּע, with יִתַּע and יִתַּע, with יִתַּע, יִתַּע, with יִתַּע the rare form יִתַּע : in יִתַּע from יִתַּע, the *yod* becomes vocalized exactly as in פָּרִי (in pause יִתַּע); and in יִתַּע (in pause יִתַּע) from יִתַּע the same process is undergone by *waw* precisely as in יִתַּע (in יִתַּע etc.) from יִתַּע (cf. also יִתַּע, יִתַּע, and with a different vowel יִתַּע). It should be stated that some of the forms quoted occur only after ׀, and not as independent jussives.

³ Cf. Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* § 210: 'cuius [modi iussivi] haec est summa lex, ut forma a fine rapidius et brevius enuncietur, prout ipse iubentis animus commotior, sermo rapidior est.'

in the Old Testament, where, if we suppose that this mood *originally* gave expression to an order or command, it becomes so difficult to explain or justify its presence that, in my former edition, the attempt was made to frame a different hypothesis which might account more satisfactorily for the facts. It was accordingly suggested that originally the jussive was a form designed to strengthen and intensify the idea of potentiality which, as we have learnt, is frequently conveyed by the imperfect; that יִרְאֵה, therefore, expressing more decidedly and unequivocally than יִרְאֵה the sense *he may or might see*, afforded thus the initial element around which the stronger significations of an optative or jussive proper would rapidly attach themselves. The transition to the latter from the weaker permissive signification would then be parallel to what is observable in two analogous cases presented by Greek. In Greek the idea originally conveyed by the optative mood is that of an indefinite potentiality—‘*might*.’ Yet so completely is this, its older signification, superseded by the secondary function from which it takes its name, that, except in dependent sentences, only the rarest instances of it are to be found. Nor is this all. As though to shew the more plainly and unmistakably how a wish or command may find expression through a form properly denoting nothing beyond a possibility, we have a second equally clear instance of the same transition in the use of the optative with ἄν. The every-day usage of the language shews that in strictness *χαρῶς ἄν εἶσθε* means *you would or might go in*: yet we know that phrases such as this are not unfrequently found conveying a command, or notifying a desire, even though they may not exhibit the force and distinctness peculiar

to the imperative, or to the optative when standing by itself¹.

47. So much for the origin and primary meaning of these two modal forms. It only remains to mention, before noticing instances of their use, that in Hebrew many classes of verbs do not admit of the modifications of form by which they are distinguishable from the ordinary imperfect. Thus verbs ה'ל hardly ever² receive the הַ of the cohortative, and verbs נ'ל only very rarely. The jussive is seldom distinguishable, except in verbs י'ע, ה'ל, and the Hif'il generally; while before suffixes both forms are equally incapable of recognition³. From this it follows that they are not indispensable elements in Hebrew; and the truth of the remark made at the beginning of the chapter, that the unmodified imperfect is sufficient for the expression of any kind of volition, becomes self-evident. So, too, it may be noticed that they are not always used, even in cases where their presence might naturally be expected: e. g. Gen. 19, 17. 1 Sam. 25, 25; Gen. 9, 25 (יהיה, but יהי יפת). Judg. 6, 39^b. 19, 11. Isa. 1, 25. Jer. 28, 6^a. Ruth 1, 8 Kt. Job 3, 9^c etc. Still, upon the whole, where the modal forms exist, they are employed by preference. But although the bare imperfect may perform the office of a cohortative or jussive, we must be on our guard against hastily assuming the converse change, and supposing, under the pressure of a passing difficulty, that the latter may lose their special significance, and lapse into ordinary imperfects. This,

¹ The question will be discussed at greater length in App. II.

² Twice: Isa. 41, 23. Ps. 119, 117.

³ The only exceptions are Isa. 35, 4. Deut. 32, 7. Job 22, 21.

however, raises a question which will have to be treated separately.

48. The ordinary usages of the cohortative and jussive are so readily intelligible that a small selection of instances will suffice, the variations in meaning presented by different passages depending entirely upon the tone and manner of the speaker and the position which he occupies relatively to the person spoken of or addressed. Both forms are constantly rendered more emphatic and expressive by the addition of the particle **נָא**; e. g. Gen. 18, 21 **אֲרִדְהָנָא** 30 **יָהֵר לְאֲרֹנֵי** 26, 28 **נָא תְהִי**.

49. The cohortative, then, marks the presence of a strongly-felt inclination or impulse: in cases where this is accompanied by the ability to carry the wished-for action into execution, we may, if we please, employ *I, we will* . . . in translating; where, however, the possibility of this depends upon another (as when permission is asked to do something, or when the cohortative is employed in the plural, in accordance with the etymological meaning of the name, to instigate or suggest), we must restrict ourselves to some less decided expression, which shall be better adapted to embody a mere proposal or petition.

Thus (a) Gen. 12, 2 f. 18, 21 *I will go down, now.* 27, 41. 33, 12 etc. Isa. 8, 2. Ps. 7, 18 **אֶזְכֹּרֶה** *I will sing.* 9, 2 f. 13, 6. 18, 50 etc. Gen. 22, 5 **נִלְכְּהָ** *we (I and the lad) will go.* 24, 57. 29, 27.

(β) Gen. 33, 14. 50, 5 **אֶעֱלֶהנָא וְאֶקְבְּרָה** *let me go up, I pray, and bury my father.* Ex. 3, 18 *we would fain go.* Num. 21, 22 (in the message to Sihon, craving leave to pass through his territory) *let me pass through.* Judg. 12, 5 *I should like to cross.* 15, 1 **אֶבְאֶה**. 1 Sam. 28, 22. 1 Ki. 19, 20 etc. Ps. 17, 15 *O may I be satisfied . . .!* 25, 2. 39, 5.

61, 5. 65, 5. 69, 15 אֶל־אֲמַבְעָה *let me not (or may I not) sink!* Jon. 1, 14¹: and as a literal 'cohortative,' Gen. 11, 3. 19, 32, and often; Jer. 18, 18. Ps. 2, 2. 34, 4 etc.; cf. 85, 9. Hab. 2, 1 ואֲעִמְדָה וְאֲחִיצְבָה.

50. In the same way, the jussive assumes different shades of meaning, varying with the situation or authority of the speaker: it is thus found—

(a) As a 'jussive,' in the strict sense of the term, to convey an injunction or command, Gen. 1, 3 יְהִי אוֹר etc. 22, 12. 30, 34. 33, 9. 45, 20. Ex. 16, 19. Deut. 15, 3. Isa. 61, 10 תְּנַל נַפְשִׁי וְגו'. Ps. 13, 6. 97, 1 etc. 2 Chron. 36, 23; and the same in a tone of defiance or irony², Ex. 10, 10 יְהִי כֵן יִי עִמָּכֶם וְגו'. Judg. 6, 31 if he is a god לֹא יִרְבֶּה *let him (or he may) strive for himself!* Isa. 47, 13. Jer. 17, 15.

Obs. In commands אֶל (*do not*) and לֹא (*thou shalt not*) are sometimes found interchanging: see Ex. 23, 1. 34, 3. Lev. 10, 6. Judg. 13, 14. 1 Ki. 20, 8. Ezra 9, 12. But only very seldom indeed is the jussive (or cohortative) form employed after לֹא: Gen. 24, 8. 1 Ki. 2, 6. 1 Sam. 14, 36. 2 Sam. 17, 12; 18, 46.

Sometimes, from the circumstances of the case, the command becomes a permission: so Num. 24, 7 וְיָרַם and *let his king be higher than 'Agág*, 19 וְיִירָד and *let him rule*. Deut. 20, 5. Isa. 27, 6 (where observe the simple impf. יִצְיֵן parallel to a jussive). 35, 1 f. Hos. 14, 6 f. I will be as the dew to Israel: *let him flourish* וְיִהְיֶה and *strike forth his roots like Lebanon*. Zech. 10, 7 יִגַּל לָבַם. Ps. 14, 7. 22, 27. 69, 33. 2 Ki. 2, 10.

¹ Cf. Job 32, 21^a אֲשֶׁר פְּנִי־אִישׁ 'I hope I may not shew unfair favour to any one.'

² Cf. the imperative 1 Ki. 2, 22. Isa. 47, 12. Job 40, 10; Ezek. 20, 39. Amos 4, 4. 1 Ki. 22, 15.

(β) In a somewhat weaker signification, to impart advice or make a suggestion:—

Gen. 41, 33 f. and now אֲרִי let Phar'oh look out a man etc. Ex. 8, 25. Judg. 15, 2. 1 Ki. 1, 2. Ps. 27, 14 (31, 25). 118, 1-4. Prov. 1, 5. 9, 4 etc.

(γ) To express an entreaty or request, a prayer or wish, and in particular blessings or imprecations:—

Gen. 9, 27. 31, 49 Yahweh אֲצַיֵּץ watch between me and thee! 44, 33 אֲשַׁבֵּר־נָא let thy servant remain, I pray. 45, 5. Ex. 5, 21. Num. 12, 12. Deut. 28, 8. 1 Sam. 1, 23. 24, 16. 1 Ki. 10, 9. 20, 32. Ps. 7, 6. 27, 9. 35, 6. 69, 26. 80, 18. 109, 12-15. 19. 2 Chr. 14, 10^b (a prayer like Ps. 9, 20).

Obs. In the second person the jussive is very rare, except after אֲל, its place being naturally occupied by the imperative; see, however, 1 Sam. 10, 8. Ezek. 3, 3. Ps. 71, 21 אֲרַבֵּב O multiply my greatness! Dan. 9, 25; and cf. the phrase יִדְוֶעַ תְּרַע Gen. 15, 13. 1 Sam. 28, 1. Jer. 26, 15. Prov. 27, 23 al. בִּין תְּבִין, 23, 1 (the special form not being needed, § 44).

51. Thus far all is plain and clear. The use of both the modal forms is so simple and natural as seemingly to preclude even the possibility of any obscurity or difficulty emerging. And yet we are on the verge of what may be fairly termed the *vexatissima quaestio* of Hebrew syntax.

Does the cohortative ever signify 'must?' Startling as such a question may appear, after what has been said respecting the nature of this mood, and corroborated by the examples cited in proof of it, it is nevertheless a question which has to be asked, and one to which we must endeavour to find, if possible, a satisfactory answer. The fact is, that a small number of passages exist in which the intention or wish which the cohortative properly expresses, appears to be so limited and

guided by external conditions imposed upon the speaker that the idea of impulse from within seems to disappear before that of compulsion from without. So much so is this the case that most modern grammarians do not hesitate to affirm that under such circumstances the cohortative has the signification *must*¹. Such a sense, however, is so completely at variance with the meaning this form bears elsewhere that considerable caution should be taken before adopting it: indeed, stated absolutely and unreservedly, it cannot be adopted at all. Now it is observable that in almost all the passages in question the doubtful expression occurs in the mouth of a person suffering from some great depression or distress: however *involuntary*, therefore, the situation itself may be in which he is placed, the direction taken by his thoughts is *voluntary*, at any rate so long as his circumstances do not wholly overpower him. His thoughts may, for example, either suggest some action tending to relieve his feelings, or they may form themselves into a wish expressive of disconsolate resignation.

52. By keeping these considerations in mind, we shall generally be able to interpret the cohortative without departing so widely from its usual signification as to do violence to reason. How natural, Ps. 42, 5. 10, for the exiled poet to find relief² in tearful recollections of the

¹ Comp. Ewald, § 228^a; Böttcher, ii. 186; Hupfeld and Delitzsch on Ps. 55, 3: on the other hand, Müller, *Schulgrammatik*, § 382^a.

² This is of course said upon the assumption that Hitzig's objection, that 'pouring out one's soul' is not a voluntary act, is unfounded. Comp., however, the imperative שפכו לב Ps. 62, 9. Lam. 2, 19; and for the practical identity of נפש and לב in expressions of this sort, comp. Ps. 61, 3 with 107, 5. Jon. 2, 8.

days כִּי אַעֲבֹר בְּסֶךְ; or, *v.* 10, to give free course, as Job 10, 1, to his plaint! And similarly 55, 3. 18. 77¹, 4. 7^{a, b}. Isa. 38, 10 (in *despair*, 'let me go, then; I am ready to die,' the feeling יִתֵּר שְׁנוֹתַי extorts from him the wish to relinquish the life now suddenly become a βίος ἀβίωτος: comp., though the tone is different, Gen. 46, 30). 59, 10 (describing the *frantic efforts* made to find the way²). Jer. 3, 25 נִשְׁכַּבָּה בְּבִשְׁתָּנוּ (in despondent resignation, as perhaps Ps. 57, 5 with the same verb).

53. In these passages it will be observed that while the usual signification of the cohortative seems at first sight somewhat obscured, there is no necessity to suppose it absent, still less to imagine it superseded by a contrary signification. And, in fact, Ewald's words, § 228^a, are only to the effect that the cohortative is used to designate voluntary actions, whether they proceed from perfectly free choice, or are 'at the same time conditioned from without³.' This language is perfectly intelligible and consistent; but commentators are apt to forget the limitation

¹ The following appears to be the best articulation, grammatically, of this difficult Psalm. *Ver.* 3 is evidently descriptive of the past, *I sought*, etc.; *v.* 4 pictures, under the form of a quotation, how the Psalmist at the time thus indicated *abandoned* himself to his distress of mind; *vv.* 5 f. the narrative is resumed; *v.* 7^{a, b} again, as *v.* 4, represents his passionate reflections on the יָמִים מִקֶּדֶם (cf. Job 29, 2); *vv.* 7^c-10 'and my spirit inquired, "Will the Lord for ever?"' etc.; lastly, *v.* 11 *Then I said*, introduces the thought with which he finally put his questionings to silence.

² Cf. Delitzsch's note: 'the impulse of self-preservation, which drives them in their ἀνομία to feel for a way of escape.'

³ Similarly Delitzsch on Ps. 55, 3: the cohortative not unfrequently denotes 'ich soll oder ich muss von Selbsterregungen, die von aussen bedingt sind.'

with which it is accompanied, and to express themselves as though they thought it possible for the cohortative to denote external compulsion ('must') *alone*, to the exclusion of any internal impulse occasioned or suggested by it¹. Accordingly they find no difficulty in accounting for the presence of the form under discussion in Jer. 4, 19. 21. Ps. 88, 16, where אֲשַׁמְעָהּ אֶהְיֶה, אֶהְיֶה אֲשַׁמְעָה seem to be *exclusively* 'determined from without,' in such a manner as to leave the speaker without even the most limited scope for personal choice. But upon what principle the cohortative can then be employed to express such an idea with any propriety, it is impossible to understand; in preference, therefore, to supposing that the ה־ has in these passages assumed a meaning diametrically opposed to, and incompatible with, that which it holds elsewhere, we may perhaps provisionally adopt the opinion of Hitzig that it has *lost its significance*². This seems certainly to be the case at times with the so-called ה־ *locale* (in such words as עוֹלָתָהּ, עוֹרְתָהּ, which appear as simple nominatives, or לִישׁוּעָתָהּ, לְשִׁאָלָהּ, where it is at least redundant after the preposition³), and is more in accordance with other phenomena of language than the violent transition which the other explanation involves⁴.

¹ E. g. even Hupfeld expresses himself incautiously on Ps. 57, 5. 88, 16.

² Hitzig himself explains the other passages in the same way, or else by supposing ך omitted: but in most of them, at any rate, the more emotional and emphatic form appears appropriate.

³ See Hupfeld on Ps. 3, 3, and especially Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des St. constr. im Hebräischen*, pp. 128, 143 f.

⁴ The real difficulty lies not in understanding how the original meaning of a termination may have been lost or forgotten, but in

54. We saw above, § 27, how the impf. could be used in poetry to give a vivid representation of the past; and there are a few passages in which, as it seems, the cohortative is employed similarly, the context *limiting* the action to the past, and the mood, apparently, indicating the energy or impulse with which it was performed. So 2 Sam. 22, 38 אַרְדַּפָּה (for which in Ps. 18 אַרְרוּף). Ps. 73, 17... עַד אֲבוֹא אֶתְּמוֹתֵי לַיְלָה (under the influence of the rhythm of Deut. 32, 29? Hitz.). Prov. 7, 7 אֶבְיִנָּה... וְאֶרְאֶה. Job 19, 18 אֶקְיָמָה וְיִדְבְּרוּרֵי (on 30, 26 comp. § 66 n.). Possibly, also, Ps. 55, 18^a; on 66, 6, however, see Perowne's note: and Hab. 2, 1 the eagerness of the watchman preparing for his post is graphically depicted in the form of a quotation, the narrative proper beginning only with *v.* 2: Cant. 3, 2^a is similar, the quotation implied by the cohortative being followed in 2^b by the perfect בְּקִשְׁתִּי. Cf. Ps. 77, 4 (p. 67 n.).

55. The appearance of the cohortative after אֵינִי Ex. 32, 20, cf. Jer. 20, 10, or לִמְעַן Ps. 9, 15, will not require further comment. In Ps. 26, 6. 71, 23. 77, 12 for *I will remember*, it retains its usual force, merely indicating more decidedly than the bare impf. would have done the unconstrained readiness felt by the writer. It is found also in the phrase עַד אֶרְבֶּעֶה *while I would wink*, Prov. 12, 19: cf. Jer. 49, 19 = 50, 44.

56. We may now turn to the anomalies presented by the use of the jussive. Not unfrequently in poetry

understanding how at one and the same time it could have been treated as both significant and non-significant. And yet, even if we accept Hitzig's view as at least defensible by analogy, this is what must have been done by Jeremiah. The cases referred to above are scarcely in this respect parallel.

¹ Or should we supply in thought אִמְרָתִי before אֶקְוֶה?

the jussive occurs under circumstances where, from the general context, the simple imperfect would seem the more natural form to employ; and where, owing to the consequent difficulty of marking its special force in translating, its presence is apt to be overlooked. The explanation of this usage will be best introduced and most readily understood, if we first of all notice some instances in which the *imperative* is similarly employed. The difficulty, it will be seen, is this: we seem to require only the statement of a *fact*; we find instead a form preferred which expresses a *command*: are we now at liberty to disregard the mood altogether, and to treat the jussive as equivalent to a simple imperfect? or ought we rather to seek for some explanation which will account for and do justice to the form chosen by the writer? Although a few passages remain unexplained, the analogy of the imperative, the meaning of which cannot be either forgotten or evaded, will lead us to decide in favour of the latter alternative.

57. The appearance of imperative and jussive alike, under the circumstances alluded to, is to be referred simply to a familiar characteristic of the poetical imagination. To the poet, whatever be his language or country, the world is animated by a life, vibrating in harmony with his own, which the prosaic eye is unable to discern: for him, not merely the animal world, but inanimate nature as well, is throbbing with human emotions, and keenly susceptible to every impression from without (e. g. Ps. 65, 14. 104, 19. 114, 3-6. Isa. 35, 1 f.); he addresses boldly persons and objects not actually present (e. g. Isa. 13, 2. 23, 1 f. 4. 40, 9 etc. Ps. 98, 7 f. 114, 7 f.), or peoples a scene with invisible beings, the creations of his own fancy (Isa-

40, 3. 57, 14. 62, 10); he feels, and expresses, a vivid sympathy with the characters and transactions with which he has to deal. The result is that instead of describing an occurrence in the language of bare fact, a poet often loves to represent it under the form of a command proceeding from himself. Now in the majority of cases, those viz. which resemble Isa. 23, 1 etc., no difficulty arises: the difficulty first meets us in those passages where the command seems to be out of place, in consequence of the state of things previously described rendering it apparently superfluous and nugatory. But the fact is, these are only extreme instances; and the two considerations just mentioned will really be found sufficient to explain the anomaly.

Perhaps the strongest case is Isa. 54, 14 'be far from anxiety, for thou wilt not fear; and from terror, for it will not come nigh thee,' where the imperative occurs in the midst of a series of verbs describing the Şion of the future, and is clearly only the more nervous and energetic expression of what in prose would run 'thou *mayest* be far from anxiety,' or (changing the form) 'thou *needst* not be anxious.' Isa. 33, 20 and perhaps Ps. 65, 11 are similar. The construction is more frequent in negative sentences, i. e. with אַל and the jussive: so Ps. 41, 3. Job 5, 22. Prov. 3, 25. Isa. 2, 9. Jer. 7, 6 (where אַל-תִּשְׁפֹּט נְקִי וְדָם, involving a change of construction, is in fact parenthetical); Cant. 7, 3.

58. These passages, in all of which the verb is in the second person, and so distinctly imperative, establish a precedent which justifies us in interpreting the instances which follow in the same way, and in declining at a single stroke to rob both the jussive of its rightful force, and

the sentence of its full significance. It will be seen that by adhering to the strict grammar, instead of deserting it on account of a superficial difficulty, a more pointed and appropriate sense will disclose itself. (The verb will now be always in the third person.) Ps. 34, 6¹. 50, 3 וְאַל-יִחַרֶשׁ and let him not be silent (the scene is introduced by the pf. הוֹפִיעַ v. 2 : but the poet, instead of continuing in the same style, and writing simply 'he comes and is not silent,' imagines himself as an eager and interested spectator, praying the Deity, already visible in the distance, to come near, Ps. 7, 7 f., and declare his will). 66, 7 (where, however, the jussive is probably to be understood as conveying a *literal* warning). 121, 3 (contrast לֹא 4 : 'לֹא adds to לֹא the sympathy of the speaker with the expected future, and expresses consequently a hope' (Hitz.) : in v. 4 this hope is raised to a certainty by לֹא). Jer. 46, 6. 51, 3. Zech. 9, 5. 10, 7 (§ 50 a). Job 20, 17 יִרְאֵ לֹא (the interest felt by the writer betrays itself by causing him to glide insensibly from the language descriptive of a fact into that which is expressive of emotion). And without a negative : Ps. 11, 6. 12, 4. 72, 8. 13. 16. 17. 85, 14 let justice go before him and etc. (as in the passages quoted from Jer. and Zech., a future fact represented by the poet under the form of a command). Deut. 28, 8 יֵצוּ יְהוָה אֱתָךְ יֵצוּ יְהוָה אֱתָהּ בְרָכָה. 21 יִדְבֶק. 36 יוֹלֵךְ (where, as in Psalm 72, the language of blessing and that of mere prediction seem to blend).

Hitherto we have not found it necessary or desirable to relinquish the recognized and usual signification of the jussive. Some other passages, in which the occurrence

¹ Sept. Pesh. Jerome read פניכּ, with imperatives in 6^a.

of this mood seems abnormal, will be noticed in the chapters which follow: and a few that remain even then will be examined in Appendix II.

Obs. 1. The true character of the cohortative, although now universally recognized, was for long disregarded or unobserved: it was for the first time clearly and convincingly established by Gesenius, in his *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache* (Leipzig 1817), App. ii. p. 870, where a large number of instances are collected and examined, 'since it is not fair or right that a matter which can be despatched at a single stroke, if one will only submit to the labour of exhaustive investigation, should remain any longer an object of uncertainty and dispute.' Previous grammarians had, however (as Gesenius himself remarks), maintained the same opinion: and, indeed, so soon as Arabic began to be studied systematically, with a view to the illustration of Hebrew, the analogies presented there by the use of the 'jussive' and 'energetic' moods could not fail to arrest attention. Accordingly we find Albert Schultens in his *Institutiones ad fundamenta Linguae Hebraeae* (Lugduni Batavorum 1756), p. 432, asserting that by the addition of ה—'simul *accessionem fieri significationis non ambigendum;*' and Schröder, *Institutiones* (Ulmae 1785), p. 198, speaking of it as 'vocum formam et significationem augens.' A few years later, however, Stange in his *Anticritica in locos quosdam Psalmorum* (pars prior, Lipsiae 1791), p. 45, writes as follows on the same subject:—'Quod supra scripsi. ה quod vulgo, idque male paragogicum vocant, non temere vocabulis apponi, sed futuris et imperativis adiectum . . . exprimere Latinorum coniunctivum aut si mavis subiunctivum, multis fictum et falsum videri facile possum coniecere; nam quae imberbes in Grammaticis non didicimus, ea fere contemni ac reiici solent: id tamen ex multis exemplis verissimum reperiri, nemini in posterum dubium esse debet.' It appears, then, that in the Hebrew grammars of his day, *quarum tamen numerus infinitus est, ac quibusque nudinis Lipsiensibus augetur* (ibid.), the view thrown out by Schultens and Schröder had met with as little approval as at the time when Gesenius published his *Lehrgebäude*. Stange himself supports his statement by a considerable list of instances, though not so copious or accurate as the one afterwards given by Gesenius.

Obs. 2. The existence of a special meaning attaching to the shortened forms of the impf., at least in the case of the verbs ה"ו, had been previously noticed, though here likewise it was Gesenius who, in the first edition of his smaller grammar (1813), and more fully in his *Lehrgebäude*, confirmed and demonstrated the correctness of the observation. Thus Schröder, p. 212, writes:—‘Secunda ratio retracti ex syllaba ultima ad penultimam accentus posita est in singulari emphasi, qua vox pronunciat, uti fit in mandato, hortatione, precatione, vel in interdicto, dehortatione, deprecatione, vel in voto, vel ubi gravior quidam subest animi adfectus:’ compare also Schultens, p. 443. So far, however, as the *theory* here stated is concerned (which is identical with Ewald’s, § 224^{a, c}, above § 46, *note*), it is singular that, if it be true, the retrocession is not more frequent: except in the few cases cited below, § 71 (where it is to be attributed to the presence of ה"ו), the tone never recedes in the jussive beyond the limits of verbs ה"ו. It is quite plain that the jussive *shortened* (or, as in Arabic, *cut off*) the last syllable of the verb: there seems to me to be no evidence that in doing this it likewise produced any retrocession of the tone. On the jussive forms of verbs ה"ו compare Olshausen, § 228ⁿ.

Obs. 3. As regards any ambiguity which may be thought to arise from the use of the unmodified impf. to denote a command or wish, the reader will remember that our own language offers a close parallel. I quote the following from E. A. Abbott’s *Shakespearean Grammar*, a book in which the method commended in the extract from Gesenius (see *Obs. 1*) has been admirably carried out, § 365:—‘The reader of Shakespeare should always be ready to recognize the subjunctive, even where the identity of the subjunctive with the indicative inflexion renders distinction between two moods impossible except from the context. Thus:

“Therefore take with thee my most heavy curse,
Which in the day of battle tire thee more
Than all the complete armour that thou wear’st!
My prayers on the adverse party *fight*,
And there the little souls of Edward’s children
Whisper the spirits of thine enemies,
And *promise* them success in victory.”

Rich. III. iv. 4. 190.’

Add further:

‘But all the charms of love
Salt Cleopatra, *soften* thy waned lip!’ etc.

Ant. and Cl. ii. 1. 20-26.

And (from § 364):

‘For his passage,
The soldiers’ music and the rites of war
Speak loudly for him.’

Hamlet v. 2. 411.

CHAPTER V.

The Voluntative with Waw.

59. IN the present chapter we have to examine the use of the imperfect when combined, in its capacity as a voluntative, with the simple or *weak* וְ (with *shwa'* וַיְקַטֵּל, וַיִּאֶסְפֶּה : when the first letter of the verb has *shwa'* likewise, we obtain, of course, the forms וַיִּדְבֹּר, וַתְּהִי, וַיִּאֲנֶהֱלָה : these must be carefully distinguished from וַיִּקְטֹּל, וַיִּאֶסְפֶּה, וַיִּדְבֹּר, וַתְּהִי, וַיִּאֲנֶהֱלָה). Inasmuch as the particular signification it then assumes depends upon its being, not a *mere* imperfect, but a *voluntative*, it is important to recollect what was remarked in § 44, that the voluntative force may be really present even though the corresponding modal form does not meet the eye.

60. This weak וְ is used with the imperfect—as a jussive or cohortative by preference, if these exist as distinct forms, though not exclusively even then—in order to express the design or purpose of a preceding act, which it does in a less formal and circumstantial manner than למַעַן, לְעֵבֹר, etc., but with greater conciseness and elegance. An instance or two will make it clear in what way this is effected. 1 Sam. 15, 16 הֲרֹף וַאֲנִידָהּ let alone and *I will tell* thee: inasmuch as it is the wish to tell which occasions the utterance of הֲרֹף, this is equivalent

to saying 'let alone *that* I may tell thee.' Gen. 19, 20 let me flee thither וַיִּתְּחִי *and let* my soul live (= *that* it may live). Jer. 38, 20. Ex. 10, 17 entreat God וַיִּסְרָ and *may he* remove (= *that* he remove) from me only this death¹. In translating, we may sometimes preserve the force of the jussive or cohortative; sometimes it is better to employ *that*: care ought to be taken, however, never to confuse (say) וַיְהִי with either וַיִּהְיֶה or וַיְהִי, from both of which it is entirely distinct, but to both of which it may seem superficially similar in meaning—to the former when referring to future time, to the latter when relating to the past.

61. The ambiguity, so far as the future is concerned, arises from the following cause. In English, when we desire to express our opinion that one given event will occur in consequence of another, we commonly employ the *future*, provided that this second event may be viewed, by the speaker as more or less probable in itself—not as purely dependent upon the preceding action as its antecedent: in other words, our language *states* only the *post hoc*, leaving the *propter hoc* to be *inferred* from the juxtaposition of the words in the sentence. Thus, if we regard the result as tolerably certain, i. e. if we are tolerably sure of the *post hoc*, we say *and it will . . .*; if as uncertain, we say *that it may . . .*: we *can*, of course, employ the latter form in both instances, but our idiom *prefers* the former, if the circumstances will allow its use.

¹ As this combination of the voluntative with ׀ expresses an *ulterior issue*, advancing beyond, but regulated by, the principal verb, it is called by Ewald the *consecutive* or 'relatively-progressive' voluntative. (Respecting these terms more will be found, p. 86 n.)

Hebrew, on the other hand, employs the latter form regularly: hence it results that the same phrase can be rendered into English by *two* equivalents, one of which at the same time corresponds in addition, so far as the mere words go, to another totally different expression in Hebrew. The fact, however, that *and it will be* corresponds to וְהָיָה as well as to יִהְיֶה must not mislead us into imagining the latter to be identical with the former; for in meaning and use alike the two are quite distinct. To avoid confusion, therefore, it is safer, as well as more accurate, when we meet with a jussive after וְ, either to preserve the jussive form, or to confine ourselves to the perfectly legitimate equivalent, *that* and the subjunctive. In Ex. 10, 17. we at once feel that we cannot render *and he shall remove*: v. 21 on the contrary, for יִהְיֶה the sense would *permit* the rendering *and there shall be*, the writer, however, as before, brings the result into more intimate connexion with the previous act נִטָּה, *that there may be*: so 7, 19^a יִהְיוּ that they *may* become, but 19^b וְהָיָה and there *will* be.

62. The following examples will sufficiently illustrate the construction:—Lev. 9, 6 this shall ye do וַיֵּרָא *that* the glory of Yahweh *may appear*. 26, 43 וְהִרְצָן. Num. 25, 4. Am. 5, 14 *that he may be*. Ps. 9, 10 וְיִהְיֶה *and let Yahweh be* etc., or, in so far as this is a consequence of the characteristics described 8 f., *so* may he be, or *that* he may be a high tower etc. 90, 17 וְיִהְיֶה (a deduction from v. 16). Mic. 7, 10; 1 Sam. 7, 3. 18, 21. 28, 22 וְיִהְיֶה בְךָ כַח *that so* thou mayest have strength. 1 Ki. 22, 20. Job 16, 21. Isa. 5, 19 (parallel לְמַעַן). 35, 4. Ps. 39, 14 *that* I may look bright. 41, 11 etc.; Prov. 20, 22 wait for Yahweh וַיִּשַׁע and he will save thee (not as an *absolute* future, but dependent

on בְּיָדָהּ being carried into effect)¹. 2 Ki. 5, 10^b. So Est. 5, 3. 6. 7, 2. 9, 12 וְתַעֲשֶׂה after *What is thy request?* comp. 1 Sam. 20, 4.

Instances in which the special forms are not used:—Ex. 14, 1 וַיִּשְׁבוּ etc. 2 Sam. 9, 1. 3. 16, 11 וַיִּקְלָל . 24, 21 (cf. 2 Chr. 29, 10). Isa. 43, 9^b. 55, 7 וַיִּרְחַמְהוּ . Job 21, 19. 32, 20. 38, 35. Jon. 1, 11 what shall we do $\text{וַיִּשְׁתַּח$ that the sea may be calm? Ps. 59, 14 and let them (= that they may) know. 86, 17. Neh. 2, 5; Jer. 5, 1^b.

Where clauses of this nature have to be negated, לֹא not אֵל is almost invariably employed²:—Ex. 28, 43. 30, 20. Deut. 17, 17 וְלֹא יִסֹּר (cf. v. 20 לְבַלְתִּי סֹר). 2 Sam. 21, 17. 1 Ki. 18, 44. Jer. 10, 4. 25, 6 etc. Here the connexion between the two actions is considered to be indicated with sufficient clearness by the ו , without the need of specifying it more minutely by means of אֵל . We do not, however, after לֹא find the jussive or cohortative forms used (but cf. § 50 a, *Obs.*).

63. The same construction is also found in relation to past time: 1 Ki. 13, 33 וַיְהִי that there might be³ (not וַיְהִי

¹ Comp. below, §§ 151 *Obs.*, 152.—It is only the connexion which sometimes permits the jussive to be rendered *must*; e. g. 1 Ki. 18, 27 perchance he sleepeth וַיִּקַּץ so let him be awakened, where the general sense is fairly expressed (as A.V.) by *and must be awakened*.

² אֵל is in fact not used with a verb unless an imperative or jussive force is distinctly felt. Its use is therefore far more restricted than that of the Greek $\mu\eta$, with which it is often compared. Thus in final sentences (as after לְמַעַן or אֲשֶׁר Gen. 11, 7) לֹא not אֵל is always found: and before infinitives לְבַלְתִּי (= $\tau\sigma\upsilon \mu\eta$. . .). Similarly in the case before us אֵל is quite exceptional, being only found where it is desired to place the second clause upon an independent footing, and to make it co-ordinate with the first: Ps. 69, 15. 85, 9. 2 Chr. 35, 21.

³ The singular as 5, 6. 29. 8, 26 Kt. 10, 12. 26. 11, 3. 22, 13^b Kt.

and there were) priests of the high places. 2 Ki. 19, 25 **וְהָיָה** that thou mightest (or mayest) be. Isa. 25, 9^a that he might save us (not future, as A.V., because (9^b) they are represented as already saved). Ps. 81, 16 that so their time might be for ever. Lam. 1, 19 that they might refresh their soul (where **וַיֵּשְׁבוּ** could not have stood, as the following words shew). 2 Chr. 23, 19. 24, 11? Ps. 49, 10 (where **וַיְחִי** is dependent upon what precedes, either *v.* 8, or the negotiations which, although broken off, are *implicitly* involved in *v.* 9: that he should live).

Obs. It may be wondered how the jussive can find place where, as in these cases, the allusion is to the *past*. We must conclude that in the course of time, the literal meaning of the formula became disregarded or forgotten, and that it was thought of solely with reference to its derived function of connoting succinctly a purpose or intention, quite irrespective of time. The only other alternative would be to suppose that the imperfect, whether in the jussive form or not, is used with a potential or permissive force: 'Whom he liked, he would consecrate, and so there might be priests,' 'God is not a man, and he might lie:' the liberty thus accorded is unrestricted, in the first case, so far as the principal agent, Yârob'âm, was concerned; in the second case, so far as regards the laws which regulate human conduct. But when it can be predicated of an action or an object that it *empowers* us to act in a certain way, if we choose, the transition is very slight to speaking of it as being performed, or existing, *with a view to* our acting so, *in order that* we might act so. And thus for *and*, we may in English substitute *that*, without any detriment to the sense. (In the second passage the verb might have been pointed **וַיִּכְתֹּב**: see Isa. 48, 7. But this would have been a stronger expression than **וַיִּכְתֹּב**: it would have implied that man actually *did* lie, rather than merely that he *might* lie.)

64. After a negative¹:—Num. 23, 19 God is not a

¹ On some other cases in which similarly the subordinate clause is dependent on the preceding verb *without the negative*, compare my edition of Mosheh ben Shesheth's *Commentary upon Jeremiah and*

man וַיִּכְנֹב *so that* he might lie (or, *that* he should lie): the force of the expression is well illustrated by a parallel passage 1 Sam. 15, 29 לְהִנָּחֵם *for repenting* (or, *so as* to repent: LXX Num. infin. alone, 1 Sam. infin. with *roû*). Ps. 51, 18 thou desirest not sacrifice וְאִתְּנָה *so that* I should give it. 55, 13 it was not an enemy who reproached me וְאִשָּׁא *so that* I might bear it: similarly וְאִפְתָּר. Isa. 53, 2^b and he had no beauty *that* we should desire him. Jer. 5, 28: this passage differs from 20, 17. Gen. 31, 27, in that here the second event is regarded as *resulting from* the first, while in the two latter passages it is viewed simply as *succeeding* it; cf. § 74 a.

Or an interrogative:—Isa. 40, 25 to whom will ye compare men וְאִשְׁוֶה *that* I may be like him? 41, 26 וּנְרַעָה *that* I might ask them and that they might return answer. 46, 5^b. Lam. 2, 13. Jer. 23, 18^a who hath stood in the council of Yahweh *so as* to see? etc. (different from 18^b, which resembles rather Job 9, 4). Job 41, 3.

Obs. Occasionally the ו is dispensed with: Ex. 28, 32. 39, 23 (the same, narrated when done: 'that it *might* not be torn'). Isa. 41, 2 יִרְדָּ = *to subdue*. 50, 2. Ezek. 16, 15 יהי לו *that* it (sc. יַעֲרֹךְ) *might* be his¹.

Ezeqiel (Williams & Norgate, 1871), pp. 29, 87. We frequently find ف used in the same way with the subjunctive in Arabic: e.g. Qor'an 7, 17 and do not come nigh to this tree *so as to* become evil-doers (in Engl. we should rather change the form, and say *lest* ye become evil-doers). 71 do not touch her *so that* (*lest*) punishment seize you. See also 6, 108. 154. 8, 48. 10, 95. 11, 115. 12, 5 etc.; and after an interrogative, 6, 149. 7, 51 have we any intercessors *that* they *should* intercede for us?

¹ לו is here slightly emphatic; but its position is due rather to the desire for rhythmical distinctness; comp. לו לְאִשָּׁה Gen. 16, 3 (after לְאִבְרָם). 29, 28 (after a previous לו), v. 29; also Lev. 7, 7. או יהי לו or יהי would be extremely weak as an ending.

Ps. 61, 8 מן ינצרהו. Job 9, 33. Neh. 13, 19. Add likewise the passages in which the cohortative appears after *מי יתן* *O that . . .*: Isa. 27, 4. Ps. 55, 7 *O that I had the wings of a dove, אצופה ואשכנה that I might fly away and be at rest.* Job 23, 3-5. Compare Judg. 9, 29. Jer. 9, 1, where the cohortative is preceded by *ן*; Job 6, 8 f. (jussive).

65. Sometimes the *imperative* is found instead of the jussive, to express with rather greater energy the intention signified by the preceding verb¹.

Gen. 12, 2 and I will make thee into a great nation . . . *והיה* and be (that thou mayest be) a blessing. 20, 7. Ex. 3, 10. 2 Sam. 21, 3 and wherewith shall I make expiation, *ויברכי* and bless (that ye may bless) etc. 1 Ki. 1, 12 *וימלטי*. 2 Ki. 5, 10. Ruth 1, 9. 4, 11^b. Ps. 37, 27. 128, 5 may Yahweh bless thee, *יראה* and see (that thou mayest see) the prosperity of Jerusalem!

¹ Compare Ewald, § 347^a.

CHAPTER VI.

The Imperfect with Strong Waw.

66. By far the most usual method in which a series of events is narrated in Hebrew consists in connecting each fresh verb with the clause which precedes it by means of the so-called *waw conversivum* (װ) and the imperfect. This waw conversivum, in both meaning and use, is radically different from the simple waw with *shwa'* (ױ), which is likewise prefixed to the imperfect: but it can always be at once recognized and distinguished from the latter by its peculiar form: before ם, ן, and ף the waw conversivum *uniformly* has pathach, with dagesh in the letter following—the dagesh being, however, regularly dropped, from the difficulty of then pronouncing the double letter, before ם when accompanied by *shwa'* (ױם not ױם): before ם of the first person it has, with all but equal invariability, the compensatory long vowel *qames*¹ (ױםם).

¹ The sole exceptions are a few occasions in Pi'el, where pathach appears: Judg. 6, 9 װױםםם. 20, 6. 2 Sam. 1, 10. Ezek. 16, 10; cf. also Zech. 8, 14. Ps. 73, 16. 119, 163. Job 30, 26: and, according to some, Ps. 26, 6. In Isa. 43, 28 it is probable, as Delitzsch suggests, that the punctuators (like the Targum) interpreted the verbs of the future, and pointed accordingly: LXX and Syriac render by the past.

67. This singular construction is peculiar to Hebrew¹: even beyond the limits of the Old Testament it occurs nowhere except in the fragment dating from the ninth century B. C., and preserved upon what is now known as the Moabite Stone², and in such Hebrew of a later date as is composed in intentional imitation of the Biblical style³. The other Semitic languages do not hesitate to employ what might seem to be the very natural and obvious construction of the perfect and ׀, in cases where the Hebrew regularly makes use of the impf. and ׀: indeed the purest Hebrew almost uniformly shuns the perfect with ׀ under these circumstances, and it is not till the later language, and even then only partially, that the latter is able to gain an acknowledged footing. Whatever be the origin of the pathach and following dagesh,—which are the two fundamental and essential⁴ elements in the

¹ A few instances, however, occur apparently in the Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch; see Uhlemann, *Inst. Linguae Sam.* § 64. 1 *Ann.*

² Where we find not merely ויענו, וירש, וישב, ויאחזה, ויאהרנ etc., but even the apocopated forms ויאעש, ויאבן, ויארא. But the language of this inscription is, in fact, not materially different from Hebrew—even the fem. abs. in *-ath* and the masc. plur. in *-in* are not unknown to the Old Test. (see Ps. 16, 6. Judg. 5, 10)—the resemblance being especially striking in the style and genuine idiomatic colouring. (The English reader will find an excellent account of the Stone, attributed to Professor Wright, in the *North British Review*, Oct. 1870: if acquainted with German, he may consult, in addition, the monographs of Nöldeke and Schlottmann.)

³ For example, in the Hebrew version of the Book of Tobit, or in Josephus Gorionides. But it is not the idiom of the Mishna, or of the Rabbinical Commentators.

⁴ The occasional disappearance of the dagesh does not, of course, invalidate the truth of what is said: the duplication proper to the article is also in certain cases habitually dispensed with.

formula as a whole, whether they represent simply a stronger form of !, appropriated for this use of the impf., or whether (as suggested by Ewald, § 231^a) they are the only surviving traces of some adverbial root lying concealed between the conjunction and the verb,—the principle upon which the *tense* chosen is here employed, and the signification it must bear, will not, after what was said in Chap. III, be far to seek. The imperfect (from the point of view of the spectator) expresses what in German is called *Eintritt*, and represents action as *eintretend*—two terms which may be rendered in English by *ingress* and *ingressive*. A *succession* of events need not invariably be regarded as a mere series of completed and independent wholes: each term may be conceived as having relations with the one preceding it; it may be viewed as *stepping in* after it, as presenting itself to view through an entrance prepared by its forerunner. The date at which the ingress, or entry, is imagined to take place is determined by the ·!, which connects the new event with a point previously assigned in the narrative: the goal at which it sets out, the starting-point from which it takes its origin, and to which therefore it is *relative*, is fixed at the termination of the action denoted by the preceding verb. We thus see, firstly, that an event introduced by this construction is represented as *ingressive* or *nascent*: we see, secondly, that such an event does not then any longer stand by itself, it is the *development*, the *continuation* of the past which came before¹. And history thus described

¹ By Ewald the construction is accordingly termed the *relatively-progressive* imperfect (das *bezüglich-fortschreitende* imperfectum).

may be compared to a gradually unfolding roll, in which each turn gently introduces a fresh phase to the eye.

Obs. I. The title *waw conversive* is a translation of the name וָו הַפְּסִיק, which originated with the old Jewish grammarians, who conceived the waw under these circumstances to possess the power of changing the signification of the tense, and turning a future into a past, just as in a parallel case (to be examined hereafter), they imagined it capable of turning a past into a future¹. Now that the theory of the Hebrew tenses has been entirely remodelled, and it is seen that they involve no intrinsic relation to actions as past or future, but only as completed or incomplete, irrespective of date, considerable objections have been raised against the old designation, and new ones proposed, such as *vav relativum* and *vav consecutivum*².

¹ Compare Reuchlin, *Rudimenta Hebraica* (Phorcae [Pforzheim] 1506), p. 619, 'Quamquam ne hoc quidem omiserim quod mihi de vau praepositiva particula humanissimus praeceptor meus ille Iacobus iehiel Loans doctor excellens (misericordia dei veniat super eum) apud Cecios discenti monstravit, Cum enim vau per seva notatum praeponitur verbo praeteriti temporis quod transfert accentum suum in ultimam, tunc idem verbum mutatur in tempus futurum Similiter cum praeponitur vau cum patha verbo futuri temporis, tunc futurum convertit in praeteritum.' Cf. L. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin*, pp. 105 ff. And so Glass, *Philologiae Sacrae* (Jenae 1634), p. 560, ed. Amst. 1711:—'Specialiter observandum quod praeter copulandi usum, in verbis significationes commutat, praeteriti in significationem futuri, et contra.'

² *Vav relativum* was a term always retained by Hitzig: its meaning will be evident after what has been stated in the text. It is, however, a somewhat indistinct and vague expression, and not sufficiently characteristic and decided for the boldly-defined construction it is employed to designate. *Vav consecutivum*, originally suggested in 1827 by Böttcher, has been adopted by Ewald and most modern grammarians and commentators. Certainly by its adoption we gain a convenient and uniform nomenclature, which embraces under a single category three separate usages—the consecutive or 'relatively-progressive' *voluntative* (the subject of Chap. V in this book), the

Certainly, inasmuch as there is now no longer any 'future' or 'past' to need 'conversion,' the sense formerly attached to the term *waw conversive* must be given up. But this term has one great merit, the advantages of which cannot be over-estimated: it is a strongly distinctive expression—a sign admirably adapted to keep the thing signified separate from anything which it may superficially resemble, and which may hence be liable to be confused with it in the mind. Nor is the term incapable of justification, even from the modern point of view. As Ewald, § 231^b, remarks, the *and* or *and then* brings the action described into a definite relation with some fixed point in the previously completed past, *from and out of which* it is regarded as arising and originating: now take away the 'and' which thus determines this relation (the 'vav relativum,' as it is called above), and the *perfect* will be the natural tense to employ, because all reference to the previous past is gone, the connexion of the action with its own antecedents is severed, and it is contemplated exclusively from the writer's present. Although, therefore, the 'waw conversive' does not change the meaning of the tense, it does alter the aspect under which an action is conceived; it presupposes a point of view which demands on our part an effort of thought before

consecutive or 'relatively-progressive' *imperfect* (the subject of the present chapter), and the consecutive or 'relatively-progressive' *perfect* (to be explained in Chap. VIII). But the title *waw consecutive*, to a person hearing it, seems naturally to suggest only the *first* of these constructions, in which the second verb indicates an action expressly and designedly *consequent* upon the first: and even if its meaning be modified so as to include the other two, it must still obviously remain always ambiguous, without some additional word specifying which of the three is intended. And the danger from this source of confusion arising between the first and second usage is not diminished by the fact that the same voluntative *form* appears in both—after $\cdot\gamma$ no less than after γ . It has been mainly with a view to preclude the possibility of any such confusion that I have thought it better to adhere to the term *conversive*: the name *consecutive*, had it not thus met with another application, I should have felt inclined to appropriate to the usage described in Chap. V, which it seems to me exactly fitted to describe.

it can be appreciated and realized: it effects a modification sufficiently marked to render the retention of the old distinctive title fully justifiable.

Obs. 2. The explanation here given of the nature of this construction (which is, in effect, merely Ewald's thrown with a little expansion into an English dress) was written before I had seen the following passage of Schröder's *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae* (Ulmae 1785), pp. 261 f., in which, in all essential points, the same view is not only anticipated, but stated also with singular lucidity:— 'Praeter varios hosce usus, Futurum habet adhuc alium plane singularem, et Hebraeis peculiarem, quod illud vim accipit nostri Praeteriti, et rem revera praeteritam designat, non tamen per se, et absolute, sed in relatione ad praecedens aliquod Praeteritum, spectatam. Quando enim diversae res factae, quae continua quadam serie aliae alias exceperunt, narrandae sunt, Hebraei primam quidem per Praeteritum, alias autem subsequentes, quas, ratione praecedentis, tamquam futuras considerant, per Futurum exprimunt. Hoc itaque, quia id, quod in relatione ad aliam rem praeteritam posterius et futurum fuit, notat, *Futurum relativum* dici potest.'

68. This use of the imperfect, which is so characteristic and important as to demand a separate chapter for its analysis, is, however, at the same time, closely parallel to some of the constructions already noticed in § 27. In instances such as **אָז יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהָאֲנָשִׁים יִנְחָשׁוּ, וְאַבְשָׁלָם יָבֵא**, the imperfect depicts action as incipient, in strict accordance with what appears to have been the primitive signification of the tense: it is just in virtue of this, its original meaning, that, in coalition with **וְ**, it grew up into a fixed formula, capable of being generally employed in historical narrative. That a series of past facts should ever have been regularly viewed in this light (a supposition without which the construction before us remains unaccountable), that in each term of such a series the salient feature seized upon by language should be not its character

as past, but its character as nascent or ingressive, may indeed appear singular: but the ultimate explanation of it must undoubtedly lie in the mode of thought peculiar to the people, and here reflected in their language. Only, inasmuch as the formula became one of the commonest and most constant occurrence, it is probable that a distinct recollection of the exact sense of its component parts was lost, or, at any rate, receded greatly into the background, and that the construction was used as a whole, without any thought of its original meaning, simply as a form to connect together a series of past events into a consecutive narrative.

69. The form which the imperfect takes after the וי is, however, very generally modified. It frequently, at any rate externally, resembles the voluntative—in the second and third person appearing as a *jussive*, in the first person as a *cohortative*. Without going here with any minuteness into the details (which must be sought in the larger grammars, such as Kalisch's, which treat the accident at length), we meet, for example, regularly with such forms as these, וַיִּצַו, וַיִּעַשׂ, וַיִּבְרַךְ, וַיִּבְנֶה, וַיִּבְדֹּל, וַיִּבְרָךְ, וַיִּדְבַּר, etc. A second noticeable characteristic is this, that after waw conv. *the tone frequently*, though not

¹ In so far as verbs ל' are concerned, Böttcher, ii. 196 f., collects of the first pers. sing. forty-nine instances of the shortened form, against fifty-three in which it remains unabbreviated. In the other persons, however, the full form is very exceptional; e. g. ויהיה never, ויראה four times (against some 130 instances of וירא). 'It is noticeable,' Böttcher adds, 'that in the entire Pentateuch there occur of the first pers. with ה only two instances (Gen. 24, 48. Deut. 1, 16 ff.), of the other persons none at all.'

after $\cdot\dot{\imath}$ possesses really a modal force : and he remarks in a note that such an assumption is especially necessary on account of the $\imath\bar{\imath}$ in the first person, which cannot otherwise be explained. Certainly the coincidence is a remarkable one, and constitutes a *prima facie* argument in favour of this view, which it is unquestionably difficult to meet. The same distinction of usage between the first person on the one hand, and the second and third on the other, is observable here, precisely as when the usual voluntative force is indisputably present : the former appears as a cohortative, the two latter as jussives. But the impossibility of giving a satisfactory or even an intelligible account of the presence of a *real* cohortative or jussive in forms descriptive of simple historical fact, constrains us to seek for some better explanation. Let us begin by considering the case of the second and third persons. It is, in the first place, obviously impracticable to do anything with the jussive, taken in its literal sense : a command, a permission, or a wish are all equally out of place in a form descriptive of the simple straightforward past. But even supposing we could overcome this difficulty by weakening and generalizing the force of the jussive mood in the manner attempted by Ewald¹, there

¹ Ewald, § 231^a, justifies the presence of what he conceives to be an actual voluntative on the ground that this form in itself at once puts the action described into motion, and so into an attitude of dependence on something else : in other words, the action is *mobilized*, and then requires some fixed point to which to attach itself ; which is here supplied by the $\cdot\dot{\imath}$ in the manner indicated in the text, § 67. But the unaltered imperfect is able (as we know) to ‘mobilize’ an action : and the dependency traceable in the jussive is something very unlike the dependency present in the $\cdot\dot{\imath}$. In the former case, the dependency

still seem to be objections against imagining the form to be that of a real jussive. In the first place, the alterations arising from abbreviation or apocopation *extend over a much wider area* than in the case of the actually existent jussive. Thus the jussive proper in the first person is extremely rare: but not only do we meet with וְאֹלֶךְ, וְאִשָּׁב, etc., but some fifty instances are cited of verbs ל"ה, which appear thus in the shortened form, some of them, as וְאִהֵי, וְאִרְאֵ, being of repeated occurrence. And, secondly, the old termination of the second and third plural ה-, which never occurs where the verb possesses a jussive force¹, is certainly found after ׀, e. g. Deut. I, 22. 4, 11. Judg. 8, 1. 11, 18. Isa. 41, 5 al. On the other hand, there are phenomena which seem to reveal the direction in which the true explanation must be sought. The question was asked just now, What is the cause of the

is negative and obstructive; in the latter, it is positive and progressive: with the jussive it is not the primary consideration, and it operates only by retarding the wished-for event; with the ׀ it is directly involved, and it issues in preparing the way for its introduction. I hope I have not misrepresented Ewald's view in this note: I do not feel sure that I understand the sense of the words *als von irgend etwas erst abhängig* in § 223^c (cf. 136^a), nor do I derive material assistance from the explanatory addition § 231^a 'sofern dieser die handlung selbst *schon in bewegung und folglich abhängig oder irgendwo sich fest anknüpfend setzt,*' which, if anything, only increases the obscurity that appears to me to hang over this conception of dependency as attaching to the jussive. But, however this may be, nothing short of desperation could surely suggest such a sentence as this:—'The idea of the voluntative in no way tells against its application here, so soon as it is only conceded that, in a somewhat wider import, it might denote generally that which is dependent and relative.' Only, what a concession!

¹ Böttcher, ii. 172, 200: compare, however, Ewald, § 225^a.

retrocession of tone observable e. g. in וַיִּאָסֶף? It cannot be accounted for by the supposition that the verb after וַי is a jussive, because יִשָּׁרֵת, יִאָסֶף etc. are unheard of as independent jussive forms: where they do appear, their occurrence is in no way connected with the modal form as such, but is an accidental consequence of external circumstances. Thus, for example, Ps. 102, 19 תִּפְתָּב־זֹאת, Job 22, 28 יִקָּם־לָךְ, Ps. 104, 20 תִּשָּׂת־חֲשָׁךְ, the retrocession is evidently occasioned by the desire to obviate the concurrence of two tone-syllables: it is therefore occasioned by the accidental circumstance of *position*. In verbs ל"ה, as יִגַּל, the vowel in the ultima (as in the segolate nouns) is an auxiliary vowel; and the place of the tone is thus a secondary phenomenon: here, therefore, the apparent retrocession is due to the weak letter which constitutes the third radical of the verb. In no case is the jussive mood by itself sufficient to produce retrocession; nor, in fact, does it shew the smallest tendency to produce it. Even supposing, therefore, that the verb after וַי were jussive, this would fail to account for the retrocession of the tone. It can hardly be doubted that the true cause lies in the *heavy prefix* וַי, which was once probably, as the dagesh seems to shew, even heavier than it is now. The effect of this being added to the impf. would be to create a tendency to *lighten* the latter part of the word, which would operate sometimes by simply causing the tone to recede, sometimes by giving rise to an accompanying apocopation. It must be remembered that we have not much opportunity of watching in Hebrew the changes produced by an alteration at the *beginning* of a word: most of the variations in the vowels or the tone are the results of alterations at the *end* of a word,

or of some modification in its relation to what follows it in the sentence rather than to what precedes. Thus the *st. constr.*, the addition of a suffix, the presence of a heavy termination (קטלתם), in contradistinction to a light one (קטלת), the proximity of a tone-syllable, all operate from below: instances of an influence working in the opposite direction are more difficult to find. The article, though followed, like אֵל, by dagesh, does not in Hebrew affect the termination of the word to which it is prefixed, or alter the position of the tone¹. We are not, however, left entirely destitute of any indications as to the effect which a heavy prefix, in constant coalition with a flexible verb-form, might be expected to produce. There are a few instances in which אל², when closely united to a jussive by *maqeph*, gives rise to an alteration in the form of the verb similar to that observable after *waw* conversive: thus Ex. 23, 1 אל־תִּשָּׂא. 2 Sam. 17, 16 אל־תִּלָּן: see further Deut. 2, 9. 3, 26. 1 Sam. 9, 20. 1 Ki. 2, 20. Prov. 30, 6. cf. Ex. 10, 28. Compare also אל־תִּשָּׂא, exactly like ותִּשָּׂא, whereas without אל the full form ישתה is used with a jussive force Job 21, 20. And probably Ps. 21, 2 Qri מִה־יִגַּל and the *sere* in שִׁיֹּלֶה Qoh. 5, 14³ are to be explained in the same way⁴. The case, then, as a

¹ In Arabic the addition of the art. does make a change in the termination: like the *st. constr.*, it removes the so-called 'nunation.' Thus *kitābun* book, 'alkitābu the book; *sā'atun* hour (שעה Dan. 3, 6 etc.), 'assā'atu the hour.

² See Ewald, § 224^b; Böttcher, i. 166. ii. 172; Olshausen, § 229^c.

³ Compare the shorter form after או 1 Ki. 8, 1 יקהל.

⁴ In the Psalm, however, the retrocession might be caused by the following tone-syllable מאד (the *shwa'* not reckoning, precisely as Gen. 1, 11; Kalisch's remark, therefore, § 11, 5 *end*, requires qualification, see Gesenius, Lg. § 51. 1^d Anm. 1, or Ewald, § 100^a).

whole, may be stated thus. On the one hand, the forms under discussion cannot be explained as jussives (for the jussive as such never assumes them), nor can they be explained as arising from position (for they are found where no tone-syllable follows): they can only be explained as arising from the influence of the $\cdot\dot{\aleph}$ (for the presence of this is the one property they possess in common), and this opinion is confirmed by the parallel instances which have been just quoted¹.

Obs. There is one remaining ground upon which it might be thought possible still to defend the assumption of a jussive. Granted the power of the $\cdot\dot{\aleph}$ to alter the place of the tone, it will be urged that such forms as $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$, $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$ would be most naturally treated as derived immediately from the *jussives* $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$, $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$, rather than from the simple imperfects $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$, $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$. This certainly sounds plausible: but it must be remembered that no basis exists for the assumption that $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$ in $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$ must necessarily and exclusively be *jussive*: the $\cdot\dot{\aleph}$, which is able to produce $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$, $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$ etc., is a sufficient cause to account for the presence of *šere* in $\dot{\aleph}\dot{\aleph}$; and when it had gone

¹ Ewald himself accounts in the same way for an analogous phenomenon in Arabic (*Gramm. Arab.* i. p. 124). *Lam*, 'not,' always takes an impf. after it, just as לם generally does in Hebrew: but the impf. is universally in the *jussive* mood. Thus the unmodified impf. of *nazzala*, 'to bring down,' is *yunazzilu* (he *will, used* etc. to bring down), whereas the jussive is *yunazzil*; and so we find Qor. 3, 144 *lam yunazzil* in the sense of 'he has not brought down,' 185 *lam yaf'alû* (not *yaf'alûna*) 'they have not done.' The conjunction is always closely followed by the verb, no intervening words being permitted: accordingly Ewald writes, 'Quare ob nexum hunc praepositi לם vique certâ pronuciandi necessarium et perpetuum forma verbi in fine *brevius* pronuciatur.' And if a double origin for the shortened form is postulated for Arabic ('ex duplici quae formam decurtatam postulet causa,' *ibid.*), it may be conceded, without any greater hesitation, for Hebrew.

thus far, when it had produced ויַשֶׁה ¹ out of ויַשִׁי , the tendency visible elsewhere could not have failed to operate here likewise, so as from ויַשֶׁה to give rise to ויַשֶׁה ². Such instances only require us to suppose *two* stages in the action of the $\cdot\text{ן}$: the possibility of the first stage is fully made out by the effects observable in other cases, and when once this is admitted, the second will follow as a matter of course.

71. The form before us, then, is only apparently, not really, jussive: it exhibits, in fact, one of those *accidental coincidences* not unknown to language. Why the shortened form was selected for the jussive may be uncertain, though we know the fact that it was so selected: we seem, at least partially, to detect some reasons why it appears after $\cdot\text{ן}$, but there is no indication that the identity of form in the two cases, such as it is (for we have seen that it is not perfect throughout), originated in an intentional adoption of the jussive as such.

72. The explanation of the הָ in the first person is more difficult. It should, however, be borne in mind that even in the cohortative proper, the *-ah* does not *add* to the simple imperfect the 'intentional' signification expressed by that mood: the signification is already there, and the new termination merely renders it more prominent. This seems clear from the fact that the imperfect may—and in verbs ה'ל , if such an idea is to be expressed at all, *must*—in its unmodified form signify an intention or desire. The termination, therefore, is not specially cohortative or intentional, it is merely *intensive*: and we

¹ Through an intermediate *yáshih*, Ewald, §§ 33^b, 224^a, Olshausen, §§ 57^b, 228^a.

² This indeed is the form which almost everywhere occurs: see, however, Gen. 47, 11, and Böttcher, § 497. 9.

are at least relieved of the logical contradiction involved in the supposition that a real cohortative form was used in the *mere* description of a past fact. The time and mode of occurrence are here, of course, limited by the prefixed ׀; and if (as appears probable) the *-ah* was felt to indicate the direction in which the will exerted itself, or to add emphasis to the idea of movement conveyed by the tense, its use with the first person would be nothing surprising or inappropriate.

Obs. Compare Stickel, *Das Buch Hiob*, p. 151, who supposes that in the cohortative the influence of the *-ah* is exerted in giving prominence to the feelings *internally* actuating the speaker, while with the first person after ׀ it lays stress upon the results *externally* produced. He is thus often able to imitate the effect of it in German by the use of *hin*, as ונחלמה 'und wir träumten *hin*:' so in English ושינה might be very fairly represented by 'I lay down, and slept *away*,'—*hin* is, however, capable of a wider application than our *away*. Delitzsch (on Ps. 3, 6 and Gen. 32, 6) speaks of the *-ah* as a termination *welches . . . die Lebendigkeit des Verbalbegriffs steigert*.

Another suggestion is due to Prof. Aug. Müller (in the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 206). The form of the impf. after ׀ became, through the influence of this prefix (as explained, § 70), identical externally with that of the jussive: and hence, in process of time, the difference in origin of the two was forgotten. But, as the other parts of both moods fell into disuse, the cohortative came to be practically regarded as the first person of the jussive, and consequently was used in cases analogous to those in which the form outwardly identical with the jussive made its appearance, i. e. after *waw* conversive. In other words, וישב *resembled* the real jussive ישב: and then, through the influence of a false analogy, ואשובה came gradually into use by the side of it.

73. We may now proceed to examine the manner in which this construction is employed: and, in the first place, let us enquire more closely into the nature of the relation in which an action thus introduced may stand

towards the preceding portion of the narrative. The most obvious and frequent relation is naturally that of simple chronological succession, Gen. 4, 8 and Qáyin rose up וַיִּהְרַגְהוּ *and slew* him: but of this there is no need to give further examples, as they abound throughout the historical portions of the Old Testament.

74. At times, however, when of the two ideas thus connected, one is really a *consequence* of the other, it is convenient and desirable to make this fact more explicit in English by translating *and so*: similarly, where the two ideas are in reality *contrasted* we may with advantage make the contrast more perspicuous by rendering *and yet*.

Thus (a) Gen. 20, 12 *and so* she became my wife. 23, 20 יָקַם *and so* the field was ensured to Abraham. Ps. 92, 11. Jer. 20, 17 because thou didst not kill me from the womb *so*¹ *that* my mother might have become my tomb (the two verbs are strictly co-ordinated under אָשָׂא, but the relation between them in English can hardly be exhibited except as above). Gen. 12, 19 וַאֲקַח. 31, 27 why didst thou not tell me וַאֲשַׁלְּחֶךָ *and so*² I could have sent thee away (= 'that so I might have sent thee away,' or more freely, but avoiding the change of mood, 'and so give me the opportunity of sending thee away') with mirth? Isa. 36, 9 *and so* or *so then* thou trustest.

(β) Gen. 32, 31 I have seen God face to face, וַתִּנְצַל *and yet* my soul is delivered. 49, 24 *and yet* his bow dwelleth

¹ וַתִּהְיֶי is, however, not the same as וַתִּהְיֶי: could we use the *same* person in translating, we should escape all danger of confusing them: 'because thou didst not kill me *and let* my mother become my tomb.'

² Above, 'so' pointed to the actual consequences of a real occurrence, here it points to the imaginary consequences of a hypothetical occurrence (*killing, telling*).

(in spite of 23). Deut. 4, 33 did ever people hear the voice of God . . . : וַיְחַיֵּי *and live* (= *and yet live*)? 5, 23. Judg. 1, 35 וַתִּבְכֶּי. 2 Sam. 3, 8 *and yet* thou visitest upon me. 19, 29 וַחֲשַׁת. Isa. 49, 14. Mal. 1, 2.

Sometimes the consequence is also the climax; in other words, a sentence summarizing the result of the events just before described is introduced by וַיְ: the apparent tautology may then be avoided in English by rendering *so* or *thus*, as is often done in our Version, Ex. 14, 30. Judg. 4, 23. 9, 56. 20, 46. 1 Sam. 17, 50. 31, 6.

75. But chronological sequence, though the most usual, is not the sole principle by which the use of וַיְ conv. is regulated. Where, for example, a transaction consists of two parts closely connected, a Hebrew narrator will often state the principal fact first, appending the concomitant occurrence by help of וַיְ; or again, in describing a series of transactions, he will hasten at once to state briefly the issue of the whole, and afterwards, as though forgetting that he had anticipated, proceed to annex the particulars by the same means: in neither of these cases is it implied that the event introduced by וַיְ is subsequent to that denoted by the previous verb; in reality the two וַיְ are *parallel*, the longer and the shorter account alike being attached by וַיְ to the narrative preceding them both. Instances: (α) Ex. 2, 10 she called his name Moses; *and she said*¹. Judg. 16, 23. 1 Sam. 7, 12. 18, 11. 25, 5. 2 Ki. 1, 2; (β) Gen. 27, 24² וַיֹּאמֶר (not subsequent

¹ Elsewhere we find כִּי as Gen. 4, 25. 16, 13. Ex. 2, 22 etc., or וַיֹּאמֶר as 1 Sam. 4, 21; or וַיֹּאמֶר precedes וַתִּקְרָא as Gen. 29, 33 etc.

² For some of these references, compare Hitzig, *Jeremia*, p. 288, Böttcher, ii. p. 214, and especially Ewald, *Komposition der Genesis*

to ויברכם, *v.* 23: the words of the blessing do not, as might have been expected, follow immediately, but only after the particulars accompanying it have been described, *vv.* 24-27^a). 37, 6 (describing how Joseph told his dream; 5^b is *anticipatory*). 42, 21 ff. (the details of the compendious ויעשו כן, *v.* 20). 45, 21-24. 48, 17 (notice וישית, § 39 β). Ex. 40, 18. Num. 13, 22-24 Keil. Judg. 5, 1 (see 4, 24). 6, 27. 20, 36-46 (details of the rout described generally *v.* 45). 1 Sam. 10, 9^b-11. Josh. 18, 8 (וילכו after ויצו).

76. In the instances just mentioned, the disregard of chronological sequence is only apparent: but others occur in which no temporal relation is implied at all, and association in *thought* is the principle guiding the writer rather than association in *time*. Thus וַי may be used to introduce a statement immediately suggested by a preceding word or phrase; it is even, occasionally, joined to a *substantive standing alone*, in order to expand its meaning or to express some circumstance or attribute attaching to it. Or, secondly, a fresh circumstance is mentioned, in the order in which it naturally presents itself for mention at the stage which the narrative has reached; or a new account commences, amplifying the preceding narrative regarded as a *whole*, and not meant merely to be the continuation, chronologically, of its concluding stage: in both these cases, also, וַי is employed.

Examples: (a) Gen. 36, 14 וַיְהִי. 32 (epexegetical of 31^a). 45, 7 וישלחני (connected in thought only with *v.* 6). 46, 18. 25. Num. 4, 40. 44. 10, 28 ויסעו. 20, 15 (expansion

(1823), pp. 151-156. On such occasions (in Ewald's words) the narrator 'überspringt Mittelglieder um das Ziel zu erreichen:': he is then compelled 'durch Nebenumstände zu erläutern und zu ergänzen, was sein Eile eben überspringen hatte.'

of the תלֹּאה *v.* 14). 33, 3. Josh. 22, 17 is the iniquity of Peor too little for us . . . ויהי *when* there was (lit. 'and there was') the plague in the congregation? Judg. 11, 1^b; 1 Sam. 15, 17 yet art thou head etc., and Yahweh hath anointed thee etc. 2 Sam. 14, 5 וימת אישי. 1 Ki. 11, 15 (developes a particular episode in Hadad's life, in continuation of 14^b: cf. 1 Sam. 25, 2^b). Isa. 49, 7 for the sake of Yahweh who is faithful, (and) the Holy One of Israel who hath chosen thee (lit. 'and he hath chosen thee,'—a fresh idea loosely appended by the help of וי). It is also sometimes used in order to explain and define עשה, as Gen. 31, 26. 1 Sam. 8, 8. 1 Ki. 2, 5. 18, 13 (וַאֲחֵבְנָא = *how* I hid): cf. Neh. 13, 17.

(β) Gen. 2, 25. 5, 5 ויהיו. 41, 56 ויחזק (synchronizing with וישבר). Ruth 2, 23. Num. 10, 35. 15, 32. 1 Sam. 14, 25^b. 49. 1 Ki. 5, 2. 12. 26^b. 2 Ki. 17, 7 ff.; Ex. 4, 31¹. Isa. 39, 1 he sent messengers וישמע and he heard² (parallel, 2 Ki. 20, 12 שמע כ). 64, 4 ונחטא (comp., however, Del.'s note); Prov. 12, 13^b. Job 14, 10^b (new statements parallel to those in the first clauses).

¹ Where LXX, however, read וישמחו.

² This instance is such an extreme one that Delitzsch and others are doubtless right in supposing the reading וישמע to have arisen out of that in Kings by the corruption of כ into ו. LXX has γάρ, and Peshito **فان**. We find the two letters confused elsewhere: 1 Sam. 2, 21 (where in the *Speaker's Commentary*, 'that' must be a slip of the pen for 'when:' the *that* which follows ויהי would, of course, be represented by ו, § 78, and, moreover, requires always some intervening clause) כי פקר makes no sense, and we must from LXX restore ויפקר; similarly Jer. 37, 16. Compare also, in the Heb. text itself, ויכסאו 1 Chr. 17, 14 for כסאך 2 Sam. 7, 17; and in LXX וי for כ 1 Sam. 2, 33. 4, 7. 24, 20. 2 Sam. 3, 21. 5, 6 (apparently הסירו) 7, 16. 14, 10. 19, 7 (LXX 6), and כ for ו 1 Sam. 1, 23 (so too Pesh., and, probably, rightly). 2 Sam. 20, 1.

(γ) Judg. 17, 1. 1 Sam. 9, 1. 18, 6. 1 Ki. 7, 13 (the entire buildings having been described, the part taken in their erection by Hiram is mentioned separately¹). 2 Ki. 18, 1 (comp. the date in 17, 6); cf. Ex. 12, 1 (if in 11, 4 be meant the night of the day on which the words were spoken: see the date, 12, 3).

Obs. It is a moot and delicate question how far the imperfect with $\cdot\aleph$ denotes a *pluperfect*. There is, of course, no doubt that it may express the *continuation* of a plupf.: e. g. Gen. 31, 34 had taken *and placed* them; but can the impf. with $\cdot\aleph$ *introduce* it? can it instead of conducting us as usual to a *succeeding* act, *lead us back* to one which is chronologically anterior? The impf. with $\cdot\aleph$ is, in the first place, certainly not the usual idiom chosen by Hebrew writers for the purpose of expressing a plupf.: their usual habit, when they wish to do this, is to *interpose* the subject between the conjunction and the verb, which then lapses into the *perfect*, a form which we know, § 16, *allows scope* for a plupf. signification, if the context requires it². This will be evident from the following examples:—Gen. 24, 62 ויצחק בא and Isaac *had come*: the writer wishes to combine two streams, so to speak, in his narrative: he has (1) brought Rebekah to the termination of her journey, but (2) desires to account for Isaac's presence at the same spot. In order thus to prepare the way for their meeting, he is obliged to *go back*, and detail what had taken place *anterior* to the stage at which his narrative has arrived: he therefore *starts afresh* with the words ויצחק בא, the whole of *vv.* 62 f. bears reference to Isaac, and the two streams, terminated respectively by וילך *v.* 61 and וירא *v.* 63, *converge* in וחשא *v.* 64. So 31, 19 ולבן 31 and Laban *had gone* away (before Jacob left Paddan-arām, 18 f.: ונהגב, because the possibility of Rachel's stealing the Terāphim is a

¹ LXX, it may be noticed, place the section 7, 13-51 more naturally after 6, 36: but even in that case, the force of the $\cdot\aleph$ remains the same.

² It will be understood that the pf. in this position does not *always* bear a plupf. signification: it is often so placed simply for the purpose of giving emphasis to the subject (see further App. I).

consequence of Laban's absence). 34. Num. 13, 22 *had* been built. Josh. 6, 22. 18, 1 ויהפנטש would have suggested that the subjugation was *subsequent* to the meeting at Shiloh. 1 Sam. 9, 15 (notice the *crucial* significance of יום אחד). 25, 21 (David's thoughts *before* meeting Abigail). 28, 3. 2 Sam. 18, 18. 1 Ki. 14, 5. 22, 31. 2 Ki. 7, 17. 9, 16^b (obviously prior to Jehu's arrival): in each of these passages, by avoiding ׀, the writer *cuts the connexion* with the immediately preceding narrative, and so suggests a plupf.¹ Observe also how Ezekiel abandons his customary formula (3, 22. 8, 1^b. 14, 2. 20, 2) as soon as he has occasion to carry his narrative back, 33, 22, over the space of twelve hours. And in the second place, the mode of connexion which, as usage shews us, was suggested by ׀, and which is recognized by all grammarians, is with difficulty reconcilable with the idea of a pluperfect: for the consecution inherent in the one seems to be just what is excluded by the other. Under these circumstances we shall scarcely be wrong in hesitating to admit it without strong and clear exegetical necessity.

Let us examine, therefore, the passages in which the pluperfect signification of ׀ has been assumed, whether by the native Jewish grammarians, or (through their influence) by the translators of the Authorized Version, or, within narrower limits, by modern scholars: many, it will be observed, break down almost immediately. Kalisch, § 95. 3, cites Gen. 2, 2. 26, 18. Ex. 11, 1. But Gen. 2, 2 is not an instance: see Delitzsch's note, and below § 149 n.: while in 26, 18 ויסתמום (which the note in Kalisch's *Commentary* shews to be the verb intended) is simply the continuation of the plupf. חפרו. In Ex. 11, 1 the narrative is obscure, owing to its not being so circumstantial as in the preceding chapters: but it is important to notice that, apart from the grammatical question, the interpretation is not

¹ In Gen. 20, 4. 1 Sam. 14, 27 ׀ could not have been used on account of the negative: but even here it may be noticed that the same *order* of the words is observed. Compare Pusey, *Lectures on Daniel*, p. xix, who speaks similarly of this idiom as one 'which expresses a past time, anterior to what follows, but in no connexion of time with what precedes;' the reader who refers further to p. lxxxvi (ed. 2) will find a considerable list of instances (all cases in which the verb is היה) to add to the one I have given.

relieved, even though ויִאמַר be rendered by a plupf. : if this verb be supposed to relate to any period anterior to the ninth plague—Aben Ezra suggests 4, 23, Keil 3, 19-22—the sense of עֹר נָגַע אֶחָד is sacrificed: if, on the other hand, it be interposed between 10, 23 and 10, 24, then, since the terms of the declaration are in no way *conditional*, it will be evidently premature. All difficulty ceases, and the tense ויִאמַר retains its usual force, if the interview 11, 4-8 be regarded as a different one from that of 10, 24-29¹; nor is the language of 10, 28 f. conclusive against this view, for it would be quite in keeping with Pharaoh's character, when his passion cooled, to relent from the threat which is there expressed by him, and which is at any rate broken, subsequently (12, 31), on both sides². From Hitzig we obtain Isa. 8, 3. 39, 1. Jer. 39, 11. Jon. 2, 4. But in the first of these passages the supposition is not required: the second is a more than doubtful instance to appeal to (p. 101 n.): the third may be explained by § 75 β (or 76 γ): and on the fourth, Dr. Pusey (*Minor Prophets*, ad loc.) corrects the A. V. thus:—'*For Thou hadst [didst] cast me into the deep.* Jonah continues to describe the extremity of peril' etc. Keil adopts the plupf. for Gen. 2, 19, comparing Judg. 2, 6. 1 Ki. 7, 13 ff. 9, 14. But Judg. 2, 6 is an uncertain passage to rely upon: the verse itself is a repetition of Josh. 24, 28, where it agrees perfectly with the context; see also the *Speaker's Comm.* ii. 124 (8). 1 Ki. 7 has been dealt with already, § 76 γ: 9, 14 is obscure: but the verse *seems* to be in continuation of 11^a. Gen. 2, 19 even Delitzsch rejects, though allowing that the plupf. rendering is possible, and citing for it Isa. 37, 5. Jon. 2, 4. Isa. 37, 5, however, belongs to § 75 β: and in Gen. the plupf. sense seems to me to be quite inadmissible, for the reason quoted below on Judg. 1, 8.

¹ Comp. 1 Ki. 1, 28 from which it is plain that, though the narrative does not mention it, Bathsheba must have withdrawn after the interview, *vv.* 15-22.

² It is indeed stated in the *Speaker's Commentary*, ad loc., that Smith, *Pentateuch*, pp. 557-560, 'completely disposes of the objections of German and English critics' to the rendering *had said*; but this is one of those adventurous statements, in which Canon Cook is, perhaps, too apt to indulge. The reader who consults the volume referred to will find (p. 113) merely four of the least conclusive passages cited, viz. Judg. 1, 8. Ex. 12, 1. 18, 2. 2 Sam. 5, 8. 1 Chr. 21, 6.

Further: Gen. 12, 1 A. V. (see § 76 γ). Ex. 4, 19, where Aben Ezra explains *וּכְבַר אִמְר*; but the *v.*, as Keil supposes, may well refer to a distinct occasion; 27 (cf. *v.* 14: still *וַיֹּאמֶר* is not necessarily anterior to *vv.* 20-26); 18, 2 (where, however, *וַיִּקַּח*, as Gen. 12, 5 etc., refers naturally to Jethro's action in *taking* Zipporah for the purpose mentioned *v.* 5: to *take in* in the sense of *receive, entertain* is *לָקַח* not *אָסַף*). 32, 1 (doubtless a strong case, unless it may be fairly explained by § 76 γ); 32, 29 and 33, 5 A. V. (as also A. E.), but comp. Keil: Lev. 9, 22 *וַיִּרַד* (Kimchi; also Abulwalid, *Sefer hariqmah*, p. 22, ed. Goldberg, 1856). Judg. 1, 8 A. V. (see the note in the *Speaker's Comm.*, where the Bishop of Bath and Wells remarks with truth, that 'there is nothing in the original to suggest or justify such a change of tense' as *had fought* for *וַיִּלָּחֶמ*). 1 Sam. 14, 24 A. V. (so Kimchi, *וּכְבַר הַשְּׁבִיעַ*; but see Keil); 17, 13 (§ 76 β). 23, 6 (compared with 22, 20; the *v.*, however, though the latter part is obscurely worded and probably corrupt (p. 109), relates apparently to a subsequent stage in the flight of Abiathar, and is meant to describe how, when in company with David in Ke'ilah, he had the ephod with him). 2 Sam. 5, 8 (= 1 Chr. 21, 6: a *detail* connected with the capture of Zion described in *v.* 7, § 75 β). 1 Ki. 13, 12^b A. V., Kimchi, but in this passage, which is perhaps the strongest that can be urged in favour of the plupf. sense of *וַיִּלָּחֶם*, it is remarkable that the four chief ancient versions agree in rendering the verb, as though it were *hifil*, 'And his sons *shewed* him,' etc. (*וַיִּגְרָא*): certainly, we should have expected to find *וַיִּגְרָאוּהוּ*, but it is possible that the omission of the suffix (unusual as it is in such a case as this) may have led to the Masoretic punctuation *וַיִּגְרָא*. 2 Ki. 20, 8 (*וַיִּחַי*, *v.* 7, anticipatory, § 75 β). Isa. 38, 21. 22: but it is plain that these two verses are accidentally misplaced: they should (as was long ago remarked by Kimchi, in his Commentary; similarly Bp. Lowth, cited in Mr. Cheyne's note) occupy the same position as in 2 Ki. 20, 7 f., and follow *v.* 6. Isa. 64, 4 (Kimchi *וּכְבַר הַטְּאִנּוּ*: see § 76 β). Zech. 7, 2 A. V., Kimchi (see Wright, *The Prophecies of Zechariah*, 1879, p. 162). Job 2, 11^b and Dan. 1, 9 A. V. (not necessary). Neh. 2, 9^b (? § 75 β). In Josh. 24, 12. Ps. 78, 23 (A. E., Kimchi; comp. A. V.) the narrative is doubtless not intended to be strictly chronological (cf. 105, 28 f.); and it would be very artificial to render Num. 7, 1 *And it had come to pass* etc. on account of the date being a month earlier than that of

1, 1 (see Ex. 40, 17); a distinct section here commences, and the case is rather similar to Ex. 12, 1 (§ 76 γ)¹.

Such are the passages from which our conclusion has to be drawn. In those occurring at the beginning of a narrative, or paragraph, there are, we have seen, reasons for presuming that the chronological principle is in abeyance, and that it is not the intention of the author, or compiler, to express the precise temporal relation with the occurrence last described. Some of these apparent instances have arisen, doubtless, from the manner in which the Hebrew historical books are evidently constructed, distinct sections, often written by different hands, being joined together without regard to *formal* unity. Others of the alleged instances are cases in which a circumstantial detail belonging to a preceding general statement is annexed by means of ך: that here, however, it is not equivalent to a true pluperfect, is manifest as soon as the attempt is made to render into English accordingly; a translation such as 'And David took the stronghold of Zion: the same is the city of David. *And David had said* in that day,' etc. stands self-condemned. I find it difficult to believe that in the midst of a *continuous* piece of narrative, such as Gen. 2, 19, or even Ex. 11, 1, it is legitimate to abandon the normal and natural sense of ך in favour of one which, at best, rests upon precarious and unsatisfactory instances, and which, *had it been designed by the author*, could have been easily and unambiguously expressed by a slight

¹ In Josh. LXX read δώδεκα, whence it has been conjectured that the allusion is not to the well-known defeat of Sihon and Og, but to some later incident not otherwise recorded: see Hollenberg, *Der Charakter der Alexandr. Uebersetzung des Buches Josua* (Moers, 1876), p. 16, or in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1874, p. 488.

A few additional passages, referred to chiefly by Jewish authorities, will be felt at once to be inconclusive: Gen. 2, 8 A. E. (see also his note on 1, 9). 26, 18 וישב ויחפר חור (Rashi: שנסע יצחק חור וקודם שנסע ויחפר). Ex. 14, 21 (Kimchi: כן שם הים ואחר כך שם הים). (ויחפרן לחרבה). 16, 20 (Ki.: אחר שנאש). Num. 1, 48 A. V. 1 Sam. 17, 21 A. V. Jon. 1, 17 A. V. (see 4, 6. 7). Job 14, 10 ויחלש 10. Kimchi's view may be seen also in his *Michlol*, p. 50^a, ed. Fürth (1793), or p. 44^{a-b}, ed. Lyck (1842): ויש ו' שמונה הזמן שנבר עבר קודם הפעל אשר לשניו. (Other instances may probably be found in A. V.)

change of order. For when a Hebrew writer wishes to explain or prepare the way for what is to follow by the mention of some fact which *lies outside* the main course of his narrative, the passages quoted at the beginning of this note seem to shew conclusively that he *purposely disconnects* it with what precedes, by the choice of a construction not suggestive of chronological sequence, which, in these two cases, would have given us respectively *ויהוה אלהים יצר* and *ויהוה אמר*. The authority of the Jewish grammarians, strange as it may seem to say so, must not be pressed; for although they have left works which mark an era in the development of Hebrew grammar, and are of inestimable value for purposes of exegesis, still their syntactical, no less than their phonetic principles, have constantly to be adopted with caution or even rejected altogether. Their grammar is not the systematization of a living tradition, it is a reconstruction as much as that of Gesenius, or Ewald, or Philippi, but often, unfortunately, without a sound basis in logic or philology. And a question such as that now before us is just one upon which their judgment would be peculiarly liable to be at fault. All that a careful scholar, like Mr. Wright (*l. c.*), can bring himself to admit, with reference to the plupf. sense of *וַיִּ*, is that while 'no clear instances can be cited in which it is distinctly so used,' there are cases in which 'something like an approximation to that signification can be detected.' And it is rejected unreservedly by Böttcher, ii. p. 215 f. (see in particular, § 980. 4); by Quarry, *Genesis*, pp. 99, 418; and by Dr. Pusey, who on Jonah 4, 5 writes, 'Some render, *contrary to grammar*, "And Jonah had gone," etc.'

77. So much for the logical relation subsisting between the two ideas connected by *וַיִּ*: we must now consider the nature of the fresh action which is thus introduced.

Most commonly, and especially in the historical books, as in the passage Gen. 4, 8 cited above, the fresh action both develops and finishes in the past. But it may likewise so happen that the action is of such a character that while itself starting or developing in the past, its results continue into the present—terminating there or not, as the case may be: or, thirdly, the action may

originate wholly in the present. Future time is *never* expressed by ׀, except where the prophetic perfect has preceded, or where the principle involved in it is really present. Nor does it express modality: Ps. 8, 6 וְהִתְפַּרְהוּ does not follow תִּפְקְדוּ, in dependence upon כִּי, but introduces a fresh fact: cf. Ezek. 13, 19.

78. It will hardly be necessary to cite instances in which the new action lies wholly in the past. Notice must, however, here be taken of a construction which is of constant occurrence in the historical books of the Old Testament. When the Hebrew writers have occasion in the course of their narrative to insert a clause specifying the circumstances under which an action takes place, instead of introducing it abruptly, they are in the habit of (so to speak) preparing the way for it by the use of the formula וַיְהִי *and it was or came to pass*. Thus in place of וַיִּבְעַת הָהוּא אָמַר אֲבִימֶלֶךְ, particularly in the earlier books¹, preference is generally given to the form וַיְהִי בָּעֵת ׀ הָהוּא וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִימֶלֶךְ *and it came to pass, at that time, and or that* Abimelech said etc., Gen. 21, 22. And the same construction is usual with every kind of temporal or adverbial clause, whatever be the particle by which it is introduced, e. g. Gen. 4, 3 מִקֵּץ יָמַיּ 8. בְּהֵיוֹתָם בְּשָׂדֵה 19, 17 כְּהוֹצִיאָם 34. מִמַּחֲרַת 20, 13 כֹּאשֶׁר 26, 8². The sentence is not, however, always resumed by ׀ as in the example quoted, though this is the most frequent form: the ׀ may be omitted, or be separated from the verb, and then the perfect will

¹ Contrast, for instance, Ezra 9, 1. 3. 5. 10, 1; 2 Chr. 7, 1 and often (וַיְהִי כְּכֹלֹה 1 Ki. 8, 54). 12, 7. 15, 8. But Nehemiah commonly makes use of וַיְהִי.

² Of an exceptional type are 1 Sam. 10, 11. 11, 11 וַיְהִי הַנְּשֹׂאִים וַיִּשְׂפֹּץ 2 Sam. 2, 23 (comp. § 121 Obs. 1).

reappear. Thus the main sentence may be resumed (1) by the perfect alone, as Gen. 14, 1f. 40, 1. Ex. 12, 41^b. 51. 16, 22. 27. Deut. 1, 3. 9, 11. 1 Sam. 18, 30. Isa. 7, 1. Jer. 36, 1. 16. Ezek. 1, 1 etc., or, though more rarely, by the impf.¹ if the sense be suitable, Judg. 11, 40. 1 Ki. 9, 10 f. (with אָ). 14, 28. 2 Ki. 4, 8^b. Jer. 36, 23. Or (2) by וְהָיָה as Gen. 15, 17. 29, 25. 42, 35 (הֵם מְרִיקִים). 2 Ki. 2, 11. 13, 21 al. Or (3) by ׀ with the subject before the verb, as Gen. 7, 10. 22, 1. 41, 1. Ex. 12, 29. 34, 29. Josh. 6, 8. 1 Sam. 18, 1. 2 Sam. 13, 30 al.²

But (1) with ׀ and (3) without ׀ are alike exceedingly rare: 2 Chr. 24, 11 (where, however, וְנָצַח is frequentative: see Chap. VIII); 1 Sam. 23, 6 (corrupt). perh. 1 Ki. 21, 1³.

79. We may now pass to those cases in which the action, or its results, continues into the writer's present: here, as with the perfect in the parallel instances, it is often best to translate by a present. Thus Gen. 32, 5^b וְאָמַרְתָּ. Ex. 4, 23 וְאָמַרְתָּ and *I say (have said, in the immediate past), let my son go, וְתִמְאַן and thou refusest (or hast refused) to let him go*⁴. Num. 22, 11 וַיִּבֶם. Josh. 4, 9 וַיְהִיו וְשָׁם and *they are there unto this day.* 1 Ki. 8, 8^b. 19, 10

¹ This, if a frequentative, is more usually preceded by וְהָיָה (§ 121).

² It may, perhaps, be thought that in these cases the clause beginning by the perfect or ׀ is rather a subordinate circumstantial clause (see Appendix I), and that the real continuation of וַיְהִי is afforded by the ׀ following. This is possible: but in some of the instances quoted this sequence does not occur, and in others the clause itself has not the appearance of being subordinate.

³ Ezek. 9, 8 the monstrous וַנִּשְׂאָר seems to be a confusion of two readings, וְנִשְׂאָר (to be explained by § 159), and וְנִשְׂאָר (cf. 1 Ki. 19, 10 for the position of אָנִי).

⁴ With this sentence as a whole, cf. Jer. 23, 2. 34, 17.

and I alone am left, and they seek (have sought and continue seeking) my life to take it away. Isa. 3, 16. 30, 12. 41, 5 קרבו ויאתיון. 50, 7 וארע. 59, 15 is or has become missing. Hos. 8, 10. 13. Hab. 1, 3 ויהי. 14. 3, 19. Ps. 35, 21. 38, 13 (have laid and continue to lay snares). 52, 9. 55, 6. 119, 90 and it abideth. Job 11, 3 f. 7, 14 and (so) my soul preferreth suffocation. 14, 17. 30, 11 f. Gen. 19, 9 this one entered to sojourn (here), וישפוט וישפוט and goes on to play the judge amidst us! 31, 15. 2 Sam. 3, 8 והפקד. Job 10, 8 ותבלקני and (yet) thou goest on to swallow me up: cf. Ps. 144, 3 what is man ותדעיהו and (yet) thou knowest him? Isa. 51, 12 who art thou, and (yet) thou fearest etc. Prov. 30, 25-27.

Even where the event spoken of has not actually been accomplished, Jer. 38, 9 and he is going on to die (we might have expected וימת, cf. Gen. 20, 11: but 'Ebed-melekh sees Jeremiah on the very road to death). Job 2, 3 and thou art enticing me. Ps. 29, 10 Yahweh sat at the deluge וישב and Yahweh sitteth on (from that moment went on and continues sitting) a king for ever (not shall or will sit, which would break the continuity existing in the writer's mind between the two actions described: moreover, the future would, according to uniform usage, have been expressed by וישב, or at least וישב). The addition of לעולם does not necessitate our rendering by the future any more than in the cases where it occurs with a perfect, Ps. 10, 11. 74, 1). 41, 13 ותציבני לפניך לעולם. Amos 1, 11 (similarly with לעד). 1 Chr. 23, 25 and dwelleth in Jerusalem for ever.

80. In continuation of the *present*, as expressive of a general truth, whether this be denoted in the original by a perfect, § 12, an imperfect, §§ 32, 33, or a participle, we

meet with וַי and the impf. : 1 Sam. 2, 6 Yahweh bringeth down into the Underworld, *and bringeth up*, 29. Isa. 40, 24 he bloweth upon them *and they wither*. 44, 12-15. 57, 20 for it cannot rest *and its waters are troubled*. Jer. 10, 13. Amos 5, 8 וַיִּשְׁפְּכֶם. Mic. 6, 16. Nah. 1, 4 f. Ps. 34, 8 the angel of Yahweh encampeth (partcp.) . . . *and delivereth them*. 49, 15 like sheep are they set (pf.) for She'ôl, while death is their shepherd; וַיִּרְדֵי *and the righteous rule over them in the morning*¹. 65, 9 *and (so) they are afraid*. 90, 3. 10^b. 92, 8. 94, 7. Prov. 11, 2 pride cometh וַיִּבֹא *and humiliation cometh* (i. e. follows quickly after it: cf. § 153). 20, 26. Job 5, 15. 6, 20. 7, 9 a cloud cometh to an end *and vanisheth*. 12, 22-25 (cf. Ps. 107, 40). 14, 2. 20, 15. 24, 2. 11. 20 etc.

After a pure present, Job 4, 5 now it cometh to thee *and thou art overcome*. 6, 21. 2 Sam. 19, 2 בֹּוֹקָה וַיִּתְאַבֵּל *is weeping and mourning*. Jer. 6, 14.

81. In the description of future events, the impf. with וַי is used upon exactly the same principle as the perfect, i. e. it represents them as simple matters of history. There are two cases to be distinguished: (1) where the impf. is preceded by the prophetic perfect itself, (2) where it is not so preceded.

(1) Little need be said in explanation of the first. Just as elsewhere the impf. with וַי marks a continuation of the preceding tense, so here, too, it is employed if a writer desires to portray a future scene or series of events, as though they were unfolding themselves before his eyes,

¹ I. e. Death, as at the Exodus, or Isa. 37, 36. Job 27, 20, performs his mission in the night. וַיִּרְדֵי can only be referred to the future on the assumption of a change of standpoint, § 82, which, *in this connexion*, I cannot persuade myself is probable.

in the manner of ordinary historical occurrences. For one or two reasons, however, the impf. is not by any means so frequent in this sense as the perfect: the prophets generally either prefer, after beginning with an emphatic perfect, to break off into the proper future form, or else they omit \imath altogether, or separate it from the verb in such a manner as to make it impossible for the impf. in this form to appear. Isa. 5, 25. 9, 1 ff. 5 unto us a son is given \imath וְהָיָה *and* the government *is* upon his shoulder *and* his name *has been* (or *is*—past extending into present, § 79) called etc. The change of tense here made in the course of the verse by the A. V. ‘*and* the government *shall be*’ etc. is only defensible as a concession, for the sake of clearness, to English idiom; it should not be forgotten that it presupposes a different point of view from the one adopted by the prophet. Isaiah retains the ideal standpoint, which is recognized also in the renderings *have seen, is born, is given*, till 6^b תַּעֲשֶׂה : the change in question substitutes the *real* standpoint prematurely, and breaks the continuity of the description. 9, 17–20. 22, 7–12 (the prophet holds up before the people of Jerusalem a mirror of what their levity and indifference will result in: the imminent future is described by him in terms of history). 24, 6. 31, 2. 48, 20 f. he hath redeemed Jacob . . . \imath וַיִּבְקַע *and hath cleft* the rock (here A. V. retains the pf.). 53, 2. 9 (in accordance with the *perfects* in the intermediate verses: יִבְתַּח , *v.* 7, § 36. The prophet only begins to use the future in *v.* 10). Joel 2, 23. Mic. 2, 13. Ps. 22, 30 all the fat of the earth *have eaten and worshipped* (A. V. ‘*shall eat and worship,*’ which would be $\text{יֹאכְלוּ וְהִשְׁתַּחֲווּ}$, or in the slightly more energetic poetical form $\text{יֹאכְלוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲווּ}$, as *v.* 27). 109, 29; Lev. 18, 25 (after מִשְׁלַח *v.* 24, § 135. 3).

82. (2) We have seen, § 14 γ, how the prophetic perfect may be suddenly introduced by a Hebrew writer after a succession of tenses thoroughly alien to it in import. In all the examples quoted, however, the conjunction was either absent, or separated from the verb by one or more intervening words. Supposing, however, that the writer wishes to adopt the principle of the proph. perf., but at the same time to connect his fresh verb by ו immediately with what precedes, without any intervening words, in what way can he do this? If he still retains the perfect tense, this, being now united with ו, will by Hebrew usage throw the event to be described into the future, a result which *ex hypothesi* he desires to avoid: the same result would follow from the use of the imperfect and ו: clearly, then (unless he chooses to adopt the exceptional construction of the inf. abs.), nothing remains for him but to employ the imperfect with ו in order to express his meaning. And the use of this ו has the additional advantage of representing the event, in a manner often extremely appropriate, not merely with the certainty of the prophetic perfect, but as *flowing naturally out of*, being an *immediate consequence* of, the situation described in the preceding sentences. It is under circumstances like these, when the transition to the new standpoint in the future is made for the first time, not by a pf. but by the impf. with ו, that we are most apt to find this tense translated by a *future*: but unless this be done solely for the sake of the English reader, who might be slow to realize the, to him, unwonted transition, it is a gross error, and implies an entire misapprehension of the Hebrew point of view. The use of ו in the historical books, times without number, renders it inconceivable

that it should have suggested anything except the idea of a *fact done*, which is clearly not that conveyed by our future; the question whether a future occurrence may be *meant*, resolving itself into this other question, whether, viz. upon a given occasion, the change of standpoint is probable, and consistent or not with analogy.

Occasionally, it may be observed, as in a parallel case alluded to on p. 24, it remains uncertain whether the writer is describing a scene of his own experience, or one which belongs really to the future.

Isa. 2, 9 *and* (so) the mean man *is bowed down*, and the great man *humbled* (the consequences of 8 really appertaining to the future, described as though the reality belonged to the past: *in themselves* the words might describe a continuance of 8, in the past or present; that, however, this is not the case is shewn by a comparison of 11 and 17, as well as by the sense of the whole passage 12-21: comp. also 5, 15 f., where *after* the וְ we have the *perfect* itself (נִקְרָשׁ). 9, 10-15. 59, 15^b-17^a (notice 16^b סִמַּכְתָּהוּ: the *actual* future only begins with v. 18). Ezek. 28, 16 וְאַחֲלֶלְךָ (in the קִינָה upon the king of Tyre: v. 17, where there is no ו, we have the pf. (הִשְׁלַכְתִּיךְ). 31, 12. Jer. 4, 16 they are coming, *and see they have* uttered (the addition of *see* makes the sense clearer in English: observe 17 the pf. (הִיוּ). 15, 6^b-7. 51, 29. Ps. 64, 8-10 (most prob.) *and* (so) God *hath shot* at them etc., where observe that even if, in the teeth of grammatical analogy, we render וַיִּרֶם *and he shall shoot* them, the difficulty is

¹ The sudden transition in Rev. 11, 11. 20, 9 is worth comparing: see the rendering in Delitzsch's Hebrew translation of the N. T. (published by the British and Foreign Bible Society).

only deferred, not surmounted: the next verb הוּ is an unmistakeable perfect, for which the sense of the past, whether ideal or actual, must be unconditionally accepted. And the same perfect shews further how futile it would be to discard the Masoretic punctuation, and to read וַיִּרָם : the symmetry of the verse would be spoilt, וַיִּהְיֶה would remain as obstinate as ever, and the peculiar appropriateness of וַיִּרָם indicating the events 8-10 as the consequences inevitably arising out of the conduct previously described, would be lost. The same remarks will apply to *v.* 10, and to 94, 23.

Obs. Some passages in which $\cdot\text{ן}$ has the *appearance* of being future, although not so in reality:—Ps. 50, 6 ($\cdot\text{ן}$ is the legitimate continuation of the pff. 1, 2, 3^c)¹. 55, 18^b (either a conviction as to the future like Ps. 64, 8, or an allusion to the past, comp. § 54: in either case $\cdot\text{ן}$ is in strict conformity with the pff. 19, and must stand or fall with them). 92, 11f. (a consequence of what has been stated: *and so my horn is exalted*). On 77, 7^c, see § 54 note: Hab. 1, 9^b. 10^b belong most probably to § 80. Can Deut. 33, 27^b-28 $\text{וַיִּגְרַשׁ . . . וַיִּאֲמַר}$ be fairly explained by this §? The reader has before him (if I mistake not) the passages by which his decision must be guided.

This use of $\cdot\text{ן}$, rare even with the prophets, is evidently unadapted to the language of ordinary life; and Mr. Espin's recommendation on Josh. 9, 21 וַיִּהְיוּ to render 'they shall be' is an unfortunate one. The verb must be taken in its usual sense, *viz. and they became*: and the verse, which in *form* resembles Gen. 11, 3, is to be explained by § 75 β . 'They shall be,' as may be learnt from the first chapter of Genesis, would have been וַהֲיוּ .

83. We know from § 27 (a) that the impf. can be employed by itself to describe single events occurring in

¹ It is noticeable that in Ps. 97, the opening verses of which are clearly imitated from Ps. 50, we have, *v.* 6, the *perfect* וַיִּגְדֹּד in exact correspondence to וַיִּגְדֹּד here.

past time. The instances there quoted were restricted to those in which the copulative *and* could have found no place, the verb being disconnected in sense with the preceding words: we must now consider those cases of a somewhat different nature, by no means uncommon in an elevated or poetical style, in which the writer, instead of adopting the usual prosaic construction of the impf. with '१, makes use of the impf. alone, or merely attaches it to what precedes by the simple *waw* ! (which the reader need not be reminded must be scrupulously discriminated from '१). The ordinary mode of smooth progression being thus abandoned, the action introduced in the manner described is, on the one hand, cut off from the previous portions of the sentence, and rendered independent, while, on the other hand, it is depicted with all the vividness and force which are characteristic of the tense, but which are disguised, or rather destroyed, when it is in combination with '१. Our own language hardly affords us the means of reproducing the effect thus created: sometimes, however, the use of the *present*, or even the addition of a note of exclamation (indicating a *change of tone* in reading, expressive of a sudden or startling event), may enable us partially to do so.

In some of these cases the impf. appears in the *jussive* form, which seems to shew that we are right in regarding them as instances of '१ being actually omitted, rather than as instances of the bare imperfect (according to § 27). Otherwise, indeed, the appearance of the jussive in pure narrative would be inexplicable.

Obs. The omission of '१ has been compared by Ewald to the omission of the augment in Sanskrit and Greek. The illustration is very complete: in the first place, the shorter or 'secondary' person-

endings which appear after the augment were in all probability (see G. Curtius, *Das Griechische Verbum seinem Baue nach dargestellt*, i. p. 45) originally produced through the influence of this prefix: $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\text{-}\nu$ (Sk. $\acute{a}\text{-}dad\acute{a}\text{-}m$), $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ ($\acute{a}\text{-}bhara\text{-}t$) differ in no essential element from $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\text{-}\mu\iota$ ($dad\acute{a}\text{-}m\acute{\iota}$), $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota$ ($bh\acute{a}ra\text{-}t\acute{\iota}$), except in the presence of the accented demonstrative prefix which was employed in order to throw the action into the past, and the weight of which caused a compensatory change to take place in the termination. And in the same way חָצַףְךָ etc. seem clearly to have arisen. But, in the second place, when this change had become fixed in language, the altered termination became as characteristic of past time, as the augment itself: it thus *acquired* a significance which primarily, as we just saw, belonged exclusively to the latter; and so the augment, at one time essential and indispensable, could be dropped (in poetry) without detriment to the sense. And upon the same principle, it would seem, we meet with קָרַךְ , חָצַףְךָ etc., the altered ultima suggesting past time as unmistakably as if the וְ itself had been also present. But it does not appear legitimate to have recourse to this explanation in those passages where (as Ps. 11, 6) the context does not *immediately suggest* to the reader that the conjunction has been omitted, or where a prose writer could not have employed it. To do so would be to presuppose that a Hebrew author used a form which (whatever the cause) has a *double* meaning, under circumstances where, so far from there being anything either to intimate the sense in which it is to be taken, or to justify his putting such a sense upon it, the reader's natural impulse would be to impose upon it the meaning which was not intended.

84. We find accordingly—

(a) with וְ : Isa. 10, 13. 43, 28¹ (but cf. Delitzsch). 48, 3. 51, 2^b as a single man did I call him, *and* I blest him, *and* I multiplied him! 57, 17. 63, 3–6². Hab. 3, 5. Ps. 18, 38

¹ Cohortative form.

² In Isa. 12, 1, which is commonly quoted as another instance, the verbs may be strictly jussive (see Targ.: and cf. Ps. 85, 5 with 2–4, and 126, 4 with 1–3): and in 50, 2 אֲשַׁחֲזֶנּוּ and וְיִתְחַחֵן may well be

(2 Sam. 22 וְ). 43. 46. 104, 32^b (or *that*, § 63). 107, 27. Job 29, 21. 25 (freq.); and apparently also the following:— Isa. 63, 3¹ וְ. Prov. 15, 25¹. Job 13, 27¹. 15, 33¹. 27, 22¹. 36, 15¹. Hos. 11, 4¹. It is, however, singular that, though the tense is in the abbreviated form, the conjunction should still be pointed וְ rather than וּ: either וְיֵצֵא or וְיָצִיב, for example, would have been at once intelligible, and would not have occasioned the surprise we undoubtedly experience at meeting וְיֵצֵא. But when an impf. follows, not a perfect, but another impf., even if וּ be still admissible (§ 80), a preference is frequently shewn in favour of וְ; and the shorter form, its *origin* being disregarded, appears to have been treated in accordance with the same analogy.

(β) without וְ: Hos. 6, 1¹ וְ. Hab. 3, 16 יבוא. Ps. 8, 7^a hast made him rule (cf. 7^b, and 6 וְתִתֵּן). 11, 6¹? 18, 7 (2 Sam. 22 וּ). 12¹ (2 Sam. וּ). 14 (2 Sam.). 16 (2 Sam.). 17. 18. 20. 21^a. 37. 38 (2 Sam.² אָרַדְתָּ followed by וְ). 39 (2 Sam. וּ). 40^b. 42. 44 (2 Sam. וּ). 25, 9¹. 44, 3. 11–15. 47, 4¹. 78, 15 etc. 26¹. 81, 8. 90, 3¹. 107, 14. 20. 26. 27. 29¹. 33¹. 35¹. 139, 13. Prov. 7, 7² אֲבִינָה. Job 18, 9¹. 12¹. 33, 27¹. 37, 5. 38, 24¹.

85. In prose where, for variety or emphasis, a verb which would naturally be connected with the foregoing narrative by וּ, is preceded by its subject or object, or in any other way separated from the copulative, the tense which then appears is almost always the perfect. Thus

dependent on the preceding אָשִׁים, the jussive being then employed in accordance with the regular custom; see § 64 *Obs.*

¹ Jussive forms. For a further consideration of some of these passages, see App. II.

² Cohortative forms; cf. above, §§ 54, 72.

Gen. 1, 5 we first have וַיִּקְרָא, but so soon as for the sake of contrast the order is changed, we find the perfect וַלְחִישָׁה וַיִּקְרָא: this is constantly the case, v. 10. 3, 3. 17. 4, 1. 2. 4. 18. 22. 6, 8. 7, 19. 8, 5. 14. 9, 23 etc. 2 Sam. 2, 3. 3, 22. 4, 12; or without any וַ, Gen. 1, 27. 3, 16.

Poetry, however, in cases like these usually prefers the imperfect as the means of presenting the livelier image: not, of course, that the imperfect ever 'stands for' the perfect, or assumes its meaning (1), but the poet takes the opportunity thus offered of imparting brilliancy and variety to his description, the legitimate signification of the tense chosen, whether as an inceptive or as a frequentative, being always distinctly traceable. E. g. Isa. 2, 6. Hab. 3, 16. 19; often in the historical Psalms, as 18, 8 ירנוו . . . ו. 9 תאכל . . . ו. 14 etc. 24, 2. 50, 19. 78, 20 and torrents *overflowed*. 29 etc. 81, 7. 13. 104, 6-9. 105, 44. 107, 6 etc. Prov. 7, 21^b. Job 4, 12. 15. 10, 10. 11.

On the occasional use of וַ in introducing the predicate, or apodosis, see § 127.

Obs. It is apparently maintained by some scholars (see Hitzig on Jer. 44, 22. Ps. 27, 10. 44, 10, and compare Ewald, § 346^b) that these and certain similar passages present examples of what may be termed a dissolution or disintegration of the construction with waw conversive—the verb, after its separation from ו, being permitted to remain in the imperfect without any special significance being attached to it¹. That a tense should thus lose its usual force appears a singular conclusion to arrive at: and yet, if this be not the one

¹ Hitzig quotes Deut. 2, 12. Josh. 15, 63. 1 Sam. 27, 4. 2 Sam. 15, 37. 1 Ki. 20, 33. Isa. 40, 14. 41, 6. Jer. 52, 7. Job 3, 25. Cant. 3, 4. But in all these places the impf. possesses a marked significance according to §§ 27, 30, where, indeed, several of the passages have been already cited.

intended, such a remark as that 'though separated by the negation from the waw, the impf. still remains and is not changed into the pf.,' seems nugatory and needless. No fact about the Hebrew language is more evident than the *practical equivalence* of ויקרא and ו. . . קרא: these are the two alternative formulae which in countless passages interchange with one another: the peculiar point of view which determined the selection of the construction with ו. . . (even if then always consciously preserved) was entirely dropped when the verb parted company with its conjunction. In the *comparatively few*¹ cases, therefore, where instead of ו. . . קרא we find the formula ויקרא . . . ו, it is fair to conclude that the writers had some special object in selecting the unusual tense: even in poetry, if we find *x* used where a prose writer would have employed *y*, we cannot assume the two to be identical, but must suppose that the choice of the one in preference to the other rested upon some particular ground, such as that suggested in the text.

The theory offered by Hitzig to account for the presence of the imperfect in passages such as Ps. 32, 5 seems too artificial to be probable.

¹ Even after a little word like לא it is quite rare to find the impf.; against nearly fifty cases of ולא שמעו and ולא שמעו, there is but one of ולא ישמעו (in past time, of course), viz. 1 Sam. 2, 25.

CHAPTER VII.

Accents.

86. It was remarked incidentally § 69 that when the imperfect was preceded by '1 a retrocession of tone frequently took place: beyond endeavouring, however, to assign a cause for this phenomenon, we did not pause to examine the laws by which it is governed, or to lay down rules by which the place of the tone might be ascertained. In the construction which will have to be explained in the next chapter, that, namely, of the *perfect* with *waw* conversive, a change takes place (if circumstances permit it) in the *opposite* direction, the tone, if ordinarily upon the penultima, being *thrown forward* on to the ultima: this alteration forms such a noticeable and striking feature, and is, moreover, of such extreme importance as an index to the meaning intended to be borne by the tense, that the rules by which it is determined must be carefully stated and ought to be thoroughly understood and mastered by the reader. For this purpose it will be necessary to refer briefly to the nature of the *accents* in Hebrew, and to the principles upon which the use made of them depends¹.

¹ The English reader is advised, with reference to what follows, to consult Gesenius, §§ 15, 16, 29, or, better, Kalisch, pt. i, §§ 10-13 with the corresponding sections in pt. ii, viz. §§ x-xiii. See,

87. The student will be aware that in Hebrew the accents serve two purposes: by their disposition in a given verse, they indicate the subdivisions, whatever their number, into which it naturally falls when recited by an intelligent reader; these subdivisions, determined as they obviously are by the sense of the passage, will on the one hand correspond with our *stops*—so far, at least, as the latter go (for they are by no means so numerous as the Hebrew accents): on the other hand, inasmuch as in every sentence when spoken, unless it is intentionally delivered in a monotone, the voice rises or falls in accordance with the meaning, they will clearly be equally well adapted to mark the changes in the modulation of the voice during chanting or solemn recitation. It is in their first character, as grammatical or syntactical symbols, that we have here to regard them.

88. The principles regulating accentuation—of which, as is well known, there are two different systems, one applied in the prose books of the Old Testament, the other in the three (specially) poetical books, Psalms, Proverbs, Job (the dialogue parts, from 3, 2 to 42, 6)—are highly complicated and abstruse. For practical purposes, however, a few simple rules will be found amply sufficient; and those who will take the trouble to acquaint themselves with no more than what is stated in Kalisch,

also, Prof. A. B. Davidson, *Outlines of Hebrew Accentuation* (London, 1861), which contains within a small compass a clear and useful account of the accents and of the laws regulating their use: on pp. 35-52, in particular, will be found some apt illustrations of their value as logical or syntactical symbols. And on the accents of the poetical books, a special work may be expected shortly from the competent pen of Dr. Wickes.

or even with the briefer and, of course, only provisional exposition which will be given here, may be assured that they will reap no small advantage from the study¹.

89. The presence of waw conversive is often marked by a change of the tone-syllable: our first question, then, will be, How can the tone-syllable be ascertained?

The answer is very simple: with one or two exceptions it will be found that in every word provided with an accent, *the accent marks the tone-syllable*.

Without, therefore, as yet even knowing the *name* of the accents employed, we at once see that in וְכִפְרַת־ Gen. 6, 14. וְאִסְפַּת 21. וְהִקְמַתִּי 9, 11. וְזָכַרְתִּי 15², the waw is

¹ I trust that the purport of this chapter will not be misunderstood. Some acquaintance with accents is indispensable to the Hebrew student: not only for the single object, with a view to which this account of them has been inserted here, but upon more general grounds as well: they frequently offer material assistance in unravelling the sense of a difficult passage; and the best authorities continually appeal to them, on account of their bearing upon exegesis. Experience tells me how liable they are to be overlooked; and my design here is, accordingly, merely to smooth the way for those who may be induced to pursue the subject more thoroughly afterwards, or, for such as have not the time or inclination to do this, to lay down a few broad rules which may be of practical service.

² The *metheg* (i. e. *bridle*) in these words is added in order to support or *hold back* the voice from hurrying onwards and so shortening the ante-penultima unduly (as in וְזָכַרְתִּי). In any word the second syllable before that on which the principal tone rests will be felt to have a secondary accent or *counter-tone* (e. g. con'demna'tion, cor'spond'): in Hebrew, when this is an *open* syllable, the counter-tone is marked by *metheg* (Gen. 20, 5 אֶמְרֵ-לִי. וְהָיָא-גַם-הִיא, but וְהָיָא-גַם-הִיא without it), or, in certain cases, by some other accent which fills its place (8, 19 לְמַשְׁפַּחְתָּהֶם).

conversive : contrast 9, 17 הַקְמוֹתִי. Qoh. 2, 15 וַאֲמַרְתִּי *and I said* (for which the older language would have written וַאֲמַר). 8, 15 וּשְׁבַחְתִּי.

90. Some of the accents, however, have the peculiarity of being always affixed to the *first* or the *last* letter of a word, whether it begin a tone-syllable or not : these are called respectively *prepositives* and *postpositives*. When these occur, the reader can only determine where the tone really lies from his knowledge of the language : but he will not be unnecessarily misled by them, because the other accents (which *do* mark the tone) are always placed above or below the *first consonant* of the syllable to which they refer, and *immediately to the left* of the vowel-point (if the consonant in question have one in such a position that the accent might clash with it), whereas the *pre-* and *postpositives* always stand on the *extreme right* or *left* respectively of the word to which they belong.

Thus no one can doubt that in עֲשֶׂבֶה Gen. 1, 11. דְּשֵׁא 12. בְּלִבְכֶם Ps. 4, 5 we have instances of prepositives (contrast בֵּין Gen. 1, 7. וְהָיָה 1, 15); or that in הָאָדָם 2, 23. אֱלֹהִים 1, 7. לְאוֹר 1, 5. וַיִּקַּח 9, 23. בְּעֵץ Ps. 1, 3 we have before us postpositives (contrast שְׂרֵצוֹ Gen. 1, 21 : though similar in form, the difference of position is enough to discriminate the accent here from that upon לְאוֹר 1, 5 : compare, too, אֲשֶׁר 2, 19 with אֲשֶׁר 1, 7).

Whenever, then, an accent appears on the *extreme* right or left of a word, it cannot be regarded as an index of the tone-syllable : of course it *may* mark it (though even then it will not be in its proper position, as regards the *whole* syllable, for so doing), but it will do it only accidentally.

91. There are only eight pre- and postpositives: some of the latter, however, when they are attached to words accented on the penultima (*mil'el*) are written twice—on the ultima as being postpositive, on the penultima to mark the actual tone of the word. This is always the case with *pashṭa*, an accent which from this circumstance catches the eye very frequently: as Gen. 1, 1 תָּהָּוּ 7 הַפְּיִּים 9. 11. 12 etc.: and in Baer and Delitzsch's editions (of Genesis and of other books) the same duplication is adopted with the other postpositives¹ as well, 'ut omnis dubitatio, utrum hoc illudve vocabulum milel sit an milra, praecaveretur' (prae. p. vii); see 1, 7 אֶת־הַרְקִיֵּץ 2, 23 וַיֹּאמֶר 3, 17. 13, 1 וַיַּעַל^ל. Isa. 36, 6. 37, 24 etc. Thus where we find the *same* accent repeated upon one word we may know that *the tone is on the penultima*².

92. On the other hand where (for reasons which need not be here discussed) two *different* accents appear attached to one word, *the tone is indicated by the second*³. Thus Gen. 17, 24 וְאַבְרָהָם 25. 19, 27 אֶל־הַמִּקְוֹם; Ps. 1, 1 רִשְׁעִים 2. חָפְצוּ 3. 4 אִם־בְּפִיִּי (tone indicated by the point over *m* above the cholem). 2, 2 עַל־יְהוָה 3, 8 קְוֹמָה 4, 9 לְבַטָּח.

93. These short and simple rules will be found sufficient for the purpose of ascertaining on what syllable in

¹ And likewise with *telisha magnum* among the prepositives, e. g. 7, 2 אֲשֶׁר 27, 46; Isa. 36, 11 אֲלֵי־קַיִם etc.

² This rule is valid for all ordinary editions of the Hebrew text (in which, indeed, its application is limited to the single case of *pashṭa*): the reader who uses Baer and Delitzsch may easily modify it as follows:—Where a *postpositive* accent is repeated, the tone is marked by the *first* accent; where a *prepositive* is repeated, the tone is marked by the *second* accent.

³ Except in the rare case of 'incomplete retrocession,' Kal. ii. xi. 5.

a given case the tone lies: we must next consider some of the *general* principles of accentuation, from which it results as *particular* instances that the tone after *waw conversive* in the perfect, in certain cases, is not thrown forward on to the ultima. The regular form for *and I will kill* is וְקָטַלְתִּי *w'qatalti*, the double beat being as distinctly marked as in the English words *per'severé', cor'respónd'*: but under certain conditions we find וְקָטַלְתִּי *w'qatalti* with the same meaning: and the nature of these conditions must be here examined¹.

94. Hebrew accents are of two kinds. The first kind, called *distinctive* accents, correspond roughly to modern *stops*, and, like the latter, indicate the breaks or divisions in a sentence required by the meaning: they are, however, more numerous than our stops, because they measure with greater minuteness the precise length of each break, and because they mark further those slighter and sometimes hardly perceptible pauses which in most languages are regulated by the voice alone. The other kind, termed *conjunctive* accents, are peculiar to Hebrew: they shew, generally, that the word to which one of them is attached is closely connected in sense with that which immediately follows it: in English this would only be denoted by a smooth and unbroken pronunciation.

95. For our present purpose it is the distinctive accents which possess the greatest interest: it will be accordingly worth while to specify the more important among them, i. e. those which mark some considerable

¹ The tone likewise remains upon the penultima in particular forms of the *weak* verb: but as the rules for the cases in which this occurs are wholly independent of accentual considerations, they will not be stated till the next chapter.

break in the sense, and which, therefore, in translation will commonly be represented by a stop.

96. Firstly, in the *prose* books:—

The end of a verse is always indicated by the perpendicular line called *sillúq*, followed by *sóph-pásúq* (: ‘end of the verse’): thus Gen. 1, 4 : הַחֵשֶׁךְ (the *sillúq* on the tone-syllable according to rule, חֵשֶׁךְ being a segolate noun, and consequently *mil’el*).

Every verse (except a few, and these generally short ones, as Gen. 2, 1, though not always, as Deut. 5, 23. 6, 22) is divided into two parts—but by no means necessarily *equal* parts, see e. g. Gen. 1, 11. 2, 19. 7, 21. Lev. 8, 19—by *athnach*: this marks the principal pause in the whole verse. Thus Gen. 1, 1 אֱלֹהִים 2, 17 מִמֶּנּוּ.

Sometimes verses are divided into *three* principal parts: when this is the case, the third section is closed by *segolta* †, which always *precedes* *athnach*, Gen. 1, 7. 28. 2, 23 הָאָרֶץ.

The two perpendicular dots †, so frequently meeting the eye, mark a break of shorter duration: this accent is called *zaqef*,—or *zaqef-qaton*, if it be desired to distinguish it from ‡, which is termed *zaqef-gadol*: see Gen. 2, 9 הַנֶּזֶן and וְעֵץ 10. מְעֵרָן 10. 3, 10 וַיֹּאמֶר 10.

A still slighter pause is indicated by *reviá* †, as Gen. 1, 2 וְהָאָרֶץ 2, 21 וַיִּקַּח 23. הַפְּעַם 3, 16 אָמַר 16.

The last prose accent which need be considered for our present purpose is *tifcha*¹: this strictly marks a

¹ Otherwise called *tarcha*: and this is the name it bears (in most editions) in the Masoretic notes, e. g. on Judg. 17, 1, where the marginal comment upon אִסְרָהּ is בְּרַחֵהּ אִסְרָהּ i. e. *gameš* with *tarcha*. The Masórah here calls attention to the *pausal* form of the word being

greater break¹ than *reviá*^s, although from the position which it occupies in the verse, it often cannot be so readily represented in English. Examples: Gen. 2, 7 **הָאָדָם**. 18 **עוֹר**.

97. Two or three verses translated with the stops or pauses indicated, will make this perfectly clear: it ought, however, to be observed that in Hebrew the various parts of a verse are proportioned out and correlated to each other somewhat differently from what might appear natural in English.

Gen. 3, 1 now the serpent was subtil, (*zaqef*, comma,) beyond any beast of the field (*zaqef*², slight pause, in German a comma before the following relative) which the Lord God had made: (*athnach*, colon, or even full stop, as A. V. :) and he said unto the woman, (*zaqef*, comma,) Yea, hath God said, (*zaqef*,) Ye shall not eat (*zaqef*, slight pause) of every tree of the garden? 3 but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, (*segolla*, the emphatic portion of the verse marked off from what follows more decidedly than in English,) God hath said, (*reviá*^s, comma,) Ye shall not eat of it, (*zaqef*,) neither shall ye touch it: (*athnach*, followed, after a pause, by

generated by a *smaller* distinctive: this it does continually; see, for instance, Josh. 5, 14. 8, 1. 17, 14. 19, 50. Judg. 1, 15. 5, 27. 7, 5. 8, 26 (all cases of the pausal form with *zaqef*, which is considerably more common than with *tarcha*).

¹ A circumstance which has a bearing on the interpretation of Isa. 1, 21: see Delitzsch's note, or Davidson, p. 41 f.

² Where the same disjunctive accent is repeated (without one of greater value intervening), the first marks a greater break than the second. This is often evident from the sense and rhythm, e. g. Gen. 18, 25. 19, 21. 22. 29. 20, 7. 13.

the reason, added emphatically and by itself:) lest ye die¹.

In *v.* 6^a מַפְרִיּוֹ (comma, A. V.) we have an instance of *tifcha* exhibiting a disjunctive force, which can be felt even by the English reader: similarly 6^b עִמָּהּ. 9 לֹ. 10 אֲנֹכִי. 12 מִן־הָעֵץ etc.; elsewhere its value is not equal to more than that of a slight pause in the voice, as *v.* 8 בָּנָן. 11 אֲכַל־מִמֶּנּוּ.

98. Secondly, in the poetical books:—

Here, as before, *sillúq* with *sóph-pásúq* marks the end of the verse, Ps. 2, 2 ועַל־מִשִּׁיחֹוֹ: 3 עֲבֹתֵימוֹ. The other principal divisions are indicated by *athnach* (as Ps. 1, 6 צְדִיקִים), and a compound accent called *merkha with mahpakh*, or *merkha mahpakhatum*², as Ps. 1, 2 הִפְצֹו. 3, 6 וְאִישָׁנָה: this accent is always placed *before athnach*, corresponding, in this respect, to *segolta* in prose. In the poetical books *athnach* does not mark such a decided break³ as *merkha mahp.*; the latter, accordingly, in verses consisting of only two members, is not unfrequently employed by preference, to the exclusion of *athnach*⁴.

¹ Cf. Ex. 23, 23, where the tripartite division of the verse, with only a single word in the third section, produces a singularly stately and effective cadence:—'For my angel will go before thee: (*segolta*, more than a comma A. V. :) and he will bring thee (*revia*: let the voice rest for an instant after *thee* before proceeding to the couplet following) unto the Amorite and the Hittite, (*zaqef*), and the Perizite and the Cana'anite, (*zaqef*), the Hivite and the Jebûsite: (*athnach* :) and I will destroy him!'

² Sometimes also (e. g. by Delitzsch) termed, from its situation *above* and *below* the word, עולה ויורד '*oleh w'yored*.

³ See Ps. 3, 6. 4, 7. 9. 14, 2. 30, 10. 45, 15 etc.

⁴ E. g. Ps. 1, 2. 3, 3. 4, 5. 5, 7. 11, 6 etc.

The only other distinctive accents which need be noticed here are—

šinnor, a postpositive (to be distinguished from *šinnorith*, which is a *conjunctive* accent and *not* postpositive), as Ps. 3, 3 רבִּים. 13, 6 בַּטְחֵתִי ;

reviá', as Ps. 4, 2 צַדִּיקִי. 2, 8 מִמֶּנִּי ; often preceded by *geresh* on the same word, and then accordingly called *reviá' mugrásh*, as Ps. 1, 1 לְצִים. 2, 8 וְאַחֲזֹתֶךָ. 4, 2 הֲזֵנִי ; and

dechi (prepositive), as 2, 9 הִרְעַם. 10 וְעַתָּה .

Examples :—

Ps. 1, 1 happy is the man (*reviá'*, slight pause) who hath not walked in the counsel of the wicked ; (*merkha* ;) and in the way of sinners (*dechi*, slight pause) hath not stood, (*athnach*,) and in the seat of the scornful (*reviá'*) hath not sat.

27, 4 one thing have I asked of the Lord, (*šinnor*,) *it* will I seek for : (*merkha*, chief pause :) that I should dwell in the house of the Lord (*dechi*) all the days of my life ; (*athnach* ;) to gaze on the pleasantness of the Lord, (*reviá'*,) and to meditate in his temple¹.

40, 13 for evils have compassed me about (*pazer*, slighter than even *dechi*,) till they are beyond numbering ; (*reviá'* ;) my iniquities have taken hold upon me, (*dechi*,) and I cannot look up : (*athnach* :) they are more than the hairs of my head ; (*reviá' mugrásh* ;) and my heart hath forsaken me.

¹ Observe here how accurately the accentuation reflects the sense ; the two infinitives introduced by *ל*, *to gaze* and *to meditate*, stand by themselves as the two co-ordinate objects of *שׁוּבֵה* : they are accordingly marked off from the latter by means of *athnach*.

99. Now there are one or two peculiarities of Hebrew usage dependent upon the position assumed by a word in a sentence, and consequently of such a nature as to be relative to, and ascertainable by, the accents with which it is provided, which materially modify the general rule that with the so-called *waw conversivum praeteriti* the tone is thrown forward on to the ultima.

100. The first of these is the dislike felt to *two accented syllables succeeding one another, unless separated by a decided pause in pronunciation*, i. e. unless the first has a distinctive accent: where this is the case, however short the pause may be, the voice has time to take rest and recover strength, so as to give proper utterance to what follows. But where such a pause cannot be made, the collision is very commonly avoided by one of the following two expedients: either, namely, the tone of the first word is *forced back* (the vowel in the now toneless ultima being, if necessary, shortened), or recourse is had to *maqfef*, which, throwing the two words into one, causes the *proper* tone of the first to disappear. Instances may readily be found: Gen. 4, 2 זָאָן רָעָה. 6 לָהּ הָרָה. 22 תִּיבֵל תִּיבֵל. 13, 9 הִפְרָד נָא. Isa. 40, 7 בּוֹ גָּשְׁבָה. 23 שִׁפְטֵי אֶרֶץ will exemplify the first expedient; Gen. 6, 14 עֲצִי־נֹפֶר. 9, 7 יִרְבִּיבָה will exemplify the second.

Now when either of these expedients is adopted with a perfect preceded by ! *conversive*, it is plain that the characteristic position of the tone will cease to exist.

Thus Deut. 14, 26 וְאָכַלְתָּ שָׂם, although in the same verse we have both וְנָתַתָּה and וְשָׂמַחְתָּ; Amos 1, 4. 7 וְשָׁלַחְתִּי אִשׁ, but v. 5 וְשָׁבַרְתִּי. 8 וְהִבַּרְתִּי. Lev. 26, 25 וְעִשִׂיתֶם פְּסָל and even Deut. 4, 25 וְעִשִׂיתֶם פְּסָל. Ezek. 39,

17: in all these cases the tone has been *driven back* on to the penultima¹. Instances of the second expedient are rarer: see Zech. 9, 10 וְהִכְרַתִּי יִרְכָב. Ezek. 14, 13^b. Isa. 8, 17 וְקוֹיֵתִי לֹו (Baer).

101. The second of the peculiarities alluded to is that owing to the manner in which the voice is naturally inclined to rest on the last accented syllable before a pause, the vowel belonging to that syllable is, if possible, *lengthened* (as הַפִּיִם Gen. 1, 6), or, if it be a verbal form such as שָׁמְעוּ (*milra'*), the *shwa'* is replaced by the original vowel, *to which the tone then recedes*², as שָׁמְעוּ (*mi'el*). Thus, for example, Gen. 2, 25 וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם וְאֶת-חַוָּה. 9, 4 תִּחַלְּבֵנִי. 24, 46 הִשְׁקַתָּהּ. Isa. 53, 7 נִלְמָדָה (pf., not the participle, which is *milra'*: see I, 21. 26³). 54, 11 לֹא נִחְמָה.

This is almost always the case with the two principal distinctive accents *silluq* and *athnach* (except in a very few words⁴ such as מְלִכָה, which never change), and not

¹ The rule, however, is not carried out with perfect uniformity: for instances occur in which the tone is permitted to remain on the ultima: e. g. Ex. 29, 5. 43. 30, 26. Deut. 23, 14 al. But in this respect the practice with regard to the perfect and ו only presents us with similar exceptions to those which meet us elsewhere: cf. Deut. 7, 25. 20, 6 al.

² But this recession does not take place when the old heavy termination ון- is retained in the impf., as Ps. 12, 9.

³ Cf. above, p. 21 n.: and contrast further Num. 21, 20 with Cant. 6, 10. 1 Ki. 2, 46 נְכַוְנָה with Ps. 5, 10 נְכוּנָה. Esth. 8, 15 שָׁמְחָה *she rejoiced* (wrongly cited in Fürst's *Concordance* as an *adjective*) with Ps. 113, 9 שָׂמְחָה *rejoicing*.

⁴ A list of the exceptions in Genesis may be found in Baer and Delitzsch's convenient edition of the text of that book, pp. 79 f.: see, further, their *Isaiah*, p. 82; *Job*, p. 64; *Liber xii Prophetarum*, p. 96; *Psalms* (1880), p. 151; and Kalisch, ii. § xiii. 7.

unfrequently with those of smaller value, particularly *zaqef*¹, although with these the usage fluctuates.

Similarly, when a perfect with *waw conversive* stands in pause, in order, apparently, to afford the voice a more suitable resting-place than it would find if the accent were violently thrown forward to the ultima, the tone is allowed to *revert to the penultima*, e. g. Deut. 8, 10 וַאֲכַלְתָּ וְשָׂבַעְתָּ. 28, 39. Judg. 4, 8 וְהִלַּכְתִּי.

102. We thus obtain *two* cases in which a *regular* verb, that would under other circumstances have the tone thrown forward, *retains it on the penultima*, (1) where the verb is *immediately followed* by a tone-syllable, (2) where the verb is *in pausa*. The position thus assumed by the tone, it will be seen, is a natural inference from the general principles regulating the changes that take place in all other words similarly placed.

103. It will not be necessary to comment further upon the first of these cases: nor does the second call for any additional remark so far as *sillúq* and *athnach* are concerned, as the usage is there clear and uniform. But in reference to the *minor* distinctive accents, the practice of the language must be more attentively examined, as it will be found to explain a difficulty which arises from a certain small number of seemingly anomalous instances in which the tone is *not* thrown forward after *conversive*, although, at first sight, no reason seems to exist for the neglect of the usual rule. The fact is, that in these cases a *smaller distinctive* is really present, which the eye is apt to overlook: *sillúq*, *athnach*, and *zaqef* are better

¹ In these cases attention is often (though not always) called to the change by a Masoretic note at the bottom of the page: see p. 127 n.; also Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 96; *Isaiah*, p. 95 etc.

known and more readily distinguished. In order to exhibit the influence of these smaller distinctives in as clear a light as possible, it will be well, in the first place, to shew that instances occur in which they produce the same lengthening of a vowel as those accents which note a more decided pause: when this has been done, it will no longer surprise us to find that they likewise resemble the latter in hindering the tone after *waw conversive* from passing forward to the ultima. It will be observed, that the lengthened vowel marks usually a word upon which some peculiar emphasis rests.

Thus with *tifcha*, Gen. 15, 14 יַעֲבֹדוּ. Lev. 27, 10. Num. 21, 20 וְנִשְׁקָפָה. Deut. 13, 5 תִּלְכֵּבִי. 1 Ki. 20, 18. 40^b. Isa. 3, 26 וְנִקְתָּהּ. 9, 9. 27, 10¹. Jer. 1, 8. Hos. 7, 11. 8, 7 יִזְרְעוּ. Amos 3, 8 שָׁאֵג al.

reviá, Lev. 5, 23 נִזּוֹל. Deut. 5, 14 בַּהֲמוֹתָךְ. 13, 7. Ezek. 23, 37 כִּי נִאֲפִי. Hos. 7, 12 יִלְכֵּבִי. Hag. 1, 6. Neh. 12, 43 etc.

pashta, Isa. 33, 20 בְּלִי-יַעֲזֹן. 2 Ki. 3, 25 יִסְתַּמוּ. Dan. 9, 19 שְׁמַעָה. Neh. 3, 34 al.

And in the poetical books:—

sinnor, Ps. 31, 11 חֲיִי. 93, 1.

great reviá, Ps. 19, 14 עֲבֹדֶיךָ. 37, 20 יֵאבְדוּ. 47, 10 al. Job 21, 17. 24, 12 וְנִנְאָקִי; and when preceded by *geresh*, Ps. 37, 6. 23 בְּוִנְנִי. Job 9, 20 אֲנִי. 17, 1 נִזְעַקִי.

dechi, Ps. 5, 12 יִרְנְנִי. 45, 2 אֲנִי. 97, 1. Job 9, 20 f. 17, 1 חֲבֵלָה².

¹ Cf. Isa. 64, 3 with Delitzsch's note: יַעֲזֹן is also attested by Chayyûg'—in Mr. Nutt's edition, p. 59 (70 in the translation).

² And with still smaller accents Lev. 5, 18. Ezek. 40, 4. 1 Ki. 1, 26. 3, 25. Deut. 13, 7: Ps. 5, 12 בַּךְ. Prov. 30, 4. For several of the passages referred to I am indebted to Ewald, § 100^c.

104. These instances (which might readily be multiplied) afford ample proof that a minor distinctive is competent to give rise to the pausal change of vowel—a power only regularly exercised by *athnach* and *silluq*: it will not, therefore, now seem anomalous when we see that, like the latter, they also prevent the tone after *waw conversive* from being thrown forward, even though the pause in the sense indicated by their presence may not be sufficiently decided to produce at the same time the accompanying lengthening of the vowel which usually ensues in the case of the other two accents named. Accordingly we find—

In prose books:—

With *zaqef*, Deut. 2, 28 וְאַבְלָתִי. 1 Sam. 29, 8 וּנְלַחֲמֵתִי. Ezek. 3, 26 וְנִאֲלַמְתָּ; and *zaqef-gadol*, Deut. 32, 40 וְאַמְרֵתִי. *tifcha*, Joel 4, 21 וְנִקִּיתִי. Obadiah 10 וְנִבְרַחַתָּ. Isa. 66, 9 וְעֲצַרְתִּי (where the $\dot{\text{!}}$ must be conversive, and introduce a question, as 1 Sam. 25. 11 וְלִקְחֵתִי).

revia^s, 2 Sam. 9, 10 וְהִבֵּאתָ¹.

pashṭa, Jer. 4, 2 וְנִשְׁבַּעְתָּ.

In poetical books:—

With *great revia*^s, Ps. 50, 21 Hitz. Prov. 30, 9^a פֶּן אִשְׁבַּע וְאַמְרֵתִי. Job 7, 4^a וְאַמְרֵתִי.

¹ Disallowed by Böttcher, ii. 204, who appeals to 2 Ki. 9, 7. Jer. 21, 6. But הִבֵּיא, in both the first and the second person, is everywhere else *milra*^s (Lev. 26, 36 is, of course, to be explained by § 102. 1), and as regards the two passages cited, it is the exception for the tone in Hif'il not to be thrown on, and no one contends that the usage, with the minor distinctives, is so uniform that they *always* keep it back. Probably also in Gen. 24, 8. 1 Sam. 23, 2^a. Isa. 8, 17^a וַח the *mil'el* tone is to be attributed, at least partially, in the two former to the presence of *zaqef*, in the latter to that of *pashṭa*.

And *revia'* with *geresh*, Ps. 19, 14 וְנִפְיִיתִי. 28, 1 פֶּן תַּחֲשֶׂה. אִם אֲשַׂמַּח. Prov. 23, 8. 30, 9^b. Job 31, 29 . . . אִם אֲשַׂמַּח. וְהִתְעַרְרַת *if I used to rejoice . . . and elate myself.*

dechi, Job 5, 24 f. וַיִּדְעָתָּה (notice the following dagesh in כִּי: the absence of *metheg* under י, unlike the otherwise similar passage 11, 18. 19, is an indication that the tone must be *mil'el*¹). 22, 13 וְאָמַרְתָּ. 32, 16 probably².

The reader will now be prepared to proceed to the closer examination of the remarkable idiom which, without some elucidation of the nature of accents and the laws which regulate their use, it would be impossible properly to understand.

¹ Baer, however, reads וַיִּדְעָתָּה, in which case the passage will offer no irregularity.

² According to Ben Asher's accentuation (וְהוֹקֵלֵהי): Ben Naphtali read the word *milra'*; see Delitzsch's note in the second edition of his Comm. on Job (1876).

I believe these are all the occasions upon which the accents named prevent the tone being thrown forward after *waw conversive*. It must be understood, however, that the influence of the smaller distinctives, as exhibited in both these sections, is quite exceptional: in the majority of instances they effect no change in the form of a word: see, for example, Ex. 18, 16. Deut. 8, 6. 2 Sam. 11, 21. On the other hand, we occasionally find the non-pausal form retained even with *athnach* and *sôph-pâsûq*: see instances in Kalisch, ii. xiii. 3, and add Prov. 30, 9^a.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Perfect with Strong Waw.

105. A construction which is the direct antithesis of that which was last examined (in Chap. VI) will now engage our attention. Both are peculiar to Hebrew: and both, where possible, declare their presence to the ear by a change in the position of the tone; but while in the one the tone recedes, in the other it advances. The one is the form adapted to represent actions conceived as *real*, or as appertaining to a definite date, the other—and we shall perceive this distinction most plainly when we come to compare the cases in which the infinitive and participle break off into one or other of these constructions respectively—is the form adapted to represent such as can be only *contingently* realized, or are indeterminate in their character or time of occurrence. If the one can be applied to the future only when it is contemplated as fixed and definite, the other can be applied to events in the past or present only so long as the time of their taking place is conceived as unfixed and indefinite. The one, accordingly, is the companion and complement of the *perfect*, the other is the companion and complement of the *imperfect*. יָרַד וַיַּעֲמֵד denote two concrete events:

יַרְדֵּי וְעָמַד denote two abstract possibilities, the context fixing the particular conditions upon which their being realized depends. And exactly as before, when the verb became separated from the ׀, it lapsed into the *perfect*, so here, when its connexion with ׀ is broken, it lapses regularly into the *imperfect*: in both cases, then, it is essentially the *union* of the verb with the conjunction which gives rise to and conditions the special signification assumed by the formula as a whole.

Obs. Like the construction with ׀, the present idiom is hardly found beyond the Old Testament: it is never met with in Aramaic (Chaldee and Syriac); and according to Ewald, § 231^e, occurs only very rarely in the Mishna. As I wished to learn more exactly what was involved in the latter statement, I applied to my friend Dr. Neubauer, Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library, whose intimate acquaintance with the wide field of talmudic and mediaeval Hebrew is well known, for further information: and he very kindly wrote me that though it was used by modern writers in imitation of the Biblical idiom, there was no ׀ *conversive* in rabbinical Hebrew, or in the language of the Mishna. On some passages in the Qor'an, where the perfect, both with and without the conjunction ׀, is used of *future* time, see App. III.

106. However difficult it may appear to find a satisfactory explanation of this so-called *waw conversivum praeteriti*, one thing is perfectly clear, and ought most carefully to be borne in mind: a *real difference* of some kind or other exists between the use of the perfect with simple *waw*, and the use of the perfect with *waw conversive*, and the external indication of this difference is to be found in the *alteration of the tone* which constantly attends and accompanies it. This alteration of tone must unquestionably have constituted a recognized element in the traditions now embodied in the Masoretic system of

punctuation; and the authorities who added the points must have felt that in indicating this change of tone they were only adhering to a practice current in their day, and doubtless handed down from a period when Hebrew was a living and growing language—a practice which they could not disregard, because, had they done so, their work would have been but imperfectly performed, and its results only partially intelligible. For, it must be distinctly remembered, the cases in which וְ *conversive* is employed are, in a syntactical point of view, *totally dissimilar* to those in which the simple וְ is used. The difference in form is thus essentially relative to a difference in grammatical value; and, slight though the change may appear, וְקָטַלְתָּ can never be substituted for וְקָטַלְתָּ without introducing a material modification of the sense. Exactly, therefore, as in English and German, we do not stultify ourselves by reading *con'vict*, *inva'lid*, *pré'sent*, *geb'et* (give!), where the context demands *convict*, *in'valid*, *présent*, *gebet* (prayer), so in Hebrew we must beware of saying *wéqatálta* when grammar and logic call for *wéqátaltá*.

107. But upon what principle does the change of tone correspond to or represent a change of meaning? Or, putting for the moment the change of tone out of the question, what principle will explain the use of the perfect in the present connexion at all? What is the mysterious power which enables the Hebrew to say $\text{פֶּן יָבוֹא וְהִכָּנִי}$ *lest he come and smite me*, but peremptorily and inexorably forbids him to say $\text{פֶּן יָבוֹא וְאֶתִּי הִכָּה}$, which, if he desires to throw the verb later on in the sentence, forces him to write $\text{פֶּן יָבוֹא וְאֶתִּי יִכָּה}$, but at once, as though alarmed at the prospect of any further encroachment on the

part of the intrusive imperfect, shrinks back in horror as it vetoes $\text{פָּן יְבוֹא וַיִּפְנֵי}?$

Although one of the most prominent uses of the perfect with *waw* is after an imperative, or in the description of the future, and it might therefore be thought capable of explanation on the principle of the prophetic perfect, or the perfect of certitude, it must not be forgotten that there are many other occasions of a widely different character, upon which, nevertheless, the same construction is employed¹: we thus require some more *general* principle than that of the prophetic perfect, which will at the same time account for its appearance in the latter cases as well. We also require some explanation of the fact that, while the form $\text{וּכְפַרְתָּ אֹתָהּ}$ Gen. 6, 14 occurs often enough, we never meet with $\text{וְאֹתָהּ כְּפַרְתָּ}$, or even $\text{וְאֹתָהּ כְּפַרְתָּ}$, but only with $\text{וְאֹתָהּ תְּכַפֵּר}$ (or the imperative, if necessary).

108. According to Ewald, § 234^{a, b}, the construction of the perfect with ו *conversive* (the 'relatively-progressive' perfect: cf. above, p. 86, *n.* 2) was originally evoked by the opposite idiom of the imperfect with ו *conversive*: there are many well-known aspects under which the two tenses stand contrasted, and the use of the one naturally suggests the other as its antithesis, and so in the present case a specific application of the latter generated as its counterpart a corresponding application of the former. Just as before we saw how sequence in time or associa-

¹ This is important, though it is apt to be imperfectly apprehended: Mr. Turner, for example (*Studies*, etc., pp. 398-402), draws no distinction between the 'prophetic perf.' (§§ 13, 14 above) and the perf. with ו *conv.*, and omits altogether to notice the use of the latter after פָּן , לִמְעַן etc. (§ 115).

tion in thought caused an already completed action to be viewed as passing into a new phase, assuming a fresh development in the next act taken up by the narrative, so here it has the contrary result of occasioning a *nascent* action to be viewed as *advancing to completion*, as no longer remaining in suspension, but as being (so to say) precipitated. Olshausen, § 229^a, and Böttcher, § 975 D, express themselves similarly—the former remarking further that the use of the perfect rests originally upon a ‘play of the imagination,’ in virtue of which an action when brought into relation with a preceding occurrence as its *consequence*, from the character of inevitability it then assumes, is contemplated as actually completed. To this we must add, however, that the consciousness of this relation is to be conceived as essentially dependent upon *union* with *waw*, of which union the change of tone (where not hindered from taking place by external or accidental causes) is the inseparable criterion and accompaniment: dissolve this union, and the sense of any special relationship immediately vanishes. In fact, the *waw* appears really in this connexion to possess a demonstrative significance, being equivalent to *then* or *so*¹: in this capacity, by a pointed reference to some preceding verb, it *limits* the possible realization of the action it introduces to those instances in which it can be treated as a direct consequence of the event thus referred to. And we may conjecture that the emphatic alteration of tone is

¹ This is no imaginary meaning, invented for the purpose of overcoming a difficulty, but one which actually, and constantly, occurs; cf. ‘in the day that ye eat thereof וַיִּשְׂקֶהוּ *then* (Germ. *so*) are your eyes opened;’ and see also the numerous passages cited, §§ 123–129.

designed to mark this limitation : the changed pronunciation *w'qá!altí, w'qá!altá* seems to cry *There!* to attract the hearer's attention, and warn him against construing what is said in an absolute and unqualified sense, to direct him rather to some particular locality, some previously marked spot, where, and where alone, the assertion may be found verified. An action described by this construction is regarded, it is true, as completed, but *only with reference to the preceding verb*, only so far as the preceding action necessitates or permits. *נפלתה* means unreservedly and unconditionally *thou hast fallen* : *וּנְפַלְתָּה* means 'so hast thou fallen,' 'so,' namely, confining the possible occurrence of the event to a particular area previously implied or defined¹. Whatever, therefore, be the shade of meaning borne by the first or 'dominant' verb, the perfect following, inasmuch as the action it denotes is conceived to take place under the *same* conditions, assumes it too : be the dominant verb a jussive, frequentative, or subjunctive, the perfect is virtually the same. To all intents and purposes the perfect, when attached to a preceding verb by means of this *waw conversive* or *strong waw*, loses its individuality : no longer maintaining an independent

¹ Steinthal (*Charakteristik*, p. 262) speaks of this alteration of tone as *eine höchst sinnige Verwendung des Accents* : he himself, observing that it throws a new emphasis on the person-ending, considers that its effect is to render prominent the personal aspect of the action, to limit it, in other words, by representing it as subjective or conditioned. It seems a fatal objection to Mr. Turner's view (p. 402), that the change of tone never takes place with the prophetic perf., though its 'position and significance' may even be more emphatic than that of the pf. with *ו*.

position, it passes under the sway of the verb to which it is connected¹.

109. But upon what ground, it will be asked, can the marked avoidance of וַי in all such cases be accounted for? What is there to deter the Hebrew from saying, 'lest he come *and go on* to smite me?' The fact is, וַי was so appropriated by the universal custom of the language to the description of actual fact, that a sense of incongruity and anomaly would have arisen had it been adopted also on occasions where the events spoken of were merely *contingent*. Moreover, it must have been felt that with an action in itself only *incipient* or nascent, any idea of *continuation* or development was out of place: where the series is begun by a form which, like the imperfect, denotes essentially an act that is inchoate or incomplete, all possibility of free and unconditional progress (such as is expressed by וַי) is at once obviously checked: the only kind of *ulterior advance* imaginable under the circumstances is that which may ensue when the now indeterminate and incomplete act is *determined and completed*. After בָּא וַיִּכֹּן, denotes a subsequent act without any kind of reserve or limitation, בָּא וַיִּכֹּן *he came and smote me*: after בָּא, nothing thus *unconditionally* subsequent can find place because בָּא itself is inchoate and incomplete; nothing therefore definite can be annexed to בָּא, *until it has matured into* בָּא. Still, upon the hypothesis that it has matured, further eventualities may

¹ This peculiarity may sometimes be imitated in English by linking together as infinitives under the same auxiliary (instead of repeating the latter with each different verb) the perfects connected in the original by means of *waw*.

be conceived: and so we find **יבא** followed by **וְהִפְנִי**; where the *perfect* tense implies that the eventuality has occurred, while the *waw* limits its occurrence to such occasions as fall within the scope of the preceding dominant verb. Accordingly we get **אִךְ, לָמָּה, אֹוּלִי, אָם, לָמָּעַן, אָם, אִךְ** 'lest, that, if, he come—*then* or *so* (i. e. upon the supposition that the first statement is realized)—*has* or (as our idiom would prefer on account of the *condition* implied) *had he smitten me*' = 'lest he come *and smite me*:' 'perhaps he may come—*and then has he* or *had he smitten me*' = 'perhaps he may come *and smite me*:' 'why, how should he come—**τότε ἐπάραξεν ἂν ἐμέ**¹, so hätte er mich geschlagen, *then had he smitten me*' = 'why, how should he come *and smite me*?' **יבא וְהִכְנִי** 'he was liable or likely to come, would or used to come—*and then* (whenever this actually happened) *he has* or *had smitten me*' = 'he would come *and smite me*.' Should it be objected to such an explanation that it presupposes a crude and constrained mode of expression, incompatible with the ease and freedom with which the construction in question is actually employed, it may be replied that the primitive form of many of the Aryan moods and tenses was even rougher in structure; and although the adaptation of such forms as instruments of thought is doubtless facilitated by phonetic decay obliterating the separate traces of their ultimate elements, it is not dependent upon it altogether. When a compound phrase or formula is analysed, we are often surprised to discover the circuitous path by which expression has been given to an apparently simple idea; the mind, however, treats the phrase as a whole, and does

¹ Cf. with the stronger **אָם, אִךְ** 2 Ki. 13, 19.

not, on every occasion of its use, pass consciously through the individual steps by which its meaning has been acquired.

And now we may be able to discern a reason why the Hebrew could say *פן יבא והכני*, but never *פן יבא ואתי הבה*: in the former case, the relative nature of *הכני* and its dependency upon *יבא* is patent from the intimate union with *ו*; but in the latter case, on account of the isolated position it holds, *הבה* seems to be stated absolutely, to have no *special* reference to any other fact. It is in order to preserve a keen sense of the subordination thus essential to the meaning of the construction that the connexion with what precedes is so jealously guarded: the moment this connexion is broken, the verb lapses into the imperfect, which is, of course, under the same government as the dominant verb, and indeed co-ordinate with it.

Obs. The preceding remarks will make it plain in what manner the *waw* in this construction can be spoken of as the '*waw relativum*,' and the idiom as a whole as the '*relatively-progressive perfect*:' they will also shew in what sense we are justified in still applying to the former the term *waw conversive*; in virtue of the limitation imposed by it upon the perfect, it *changes* and *modifies* the application of the verb, so that the area covered (e. g.) by *והכני* is by no means co-extensive or identical with that represented by the broader *הכני*. A question, however, here arises, analogous to the one discussed § 85 *Obs.*, whether, namely, the perfect may not be occasionally preserved after its separation from *waw*, or even when the *waw* has been entirely dropped. The vast number of instances, occurring under every conceivable variety of circumstance, in which the verb, after separation, appears as an *imperfect*, furnishes a strong argument against supposing this to be possible: though an opposite view is expressed by Ewald, § 346^b, by Böttcher, ii. p. 205, and by Hitzig (on Job 5, 9), who cite passages in support of their opinion. These alleged instances, when examined, resolve themselves either into cases

of the proph. perfect, or into cases where an obvious change of construction has supervened: in fact, with two or three exceptions, they have been already explained above, § 14 γ. The perfect, standing by itself, or preceded by כִּי, § 14 α, β, is used of the future precisely as in the passages alleged; now it is impossible to explain the two former cases by supposing waw to have been dropped, for the simple reason that *it could never have been present*: if, therefore, the perfects in § 14 α, β, can be accounted for without having recourse to an imaginary waw conversive, no necessity can exist for having recourse to it in order to account for the perfect in § 14 γ. The question is to a certain extent one of *degree*: the force of the tense is undoubtedly *limited* both in the proph. perf. and after waw conversive; but in the one case it is the intelligence of the reader, aided only by the context, that *determines* the limitation, and *localizes* the action in the future; in the other case this function is performed by the connecting particle alone. It is thus the context that fixes the meaning of הוּשַׁךְ Isa. 5, 30, אוּס הוּרָהּ 11, 8, no less than that of גִּלְהָהּ 5, 13, אוּס מִלֵּאָהּ 11, 9. It would take too long to examine the other instances in detail; it is at least suspicious that more numerous and clearer cases do not occur of the bare perfect after לִמְצֵן אָם, כִּי, etc. Naturally, it cannot be seriously maintained that הוּסִיר הוּתוּ is 'for' יִסִּיר וְהוּתוּ; while, as to Prov. 9, *vv.* 4 and 16 are different; *v.* 4 is to be explained by § 12 (cf. the pff. *vv.* 1-3), *v.* 16 by § 123 α.

110. But before analysing the construction in its syntactical aspect, we must first of all state the laws which regulate the *change of tone* previously alluded to. Many forms of the perfect, as קָטַלְתִּי, אִמַּרְתָּם, רָעִי (from רָעָה), שָׁתָה (to drink, not שָׁתָה 3 fem. from שִׁית) etc., are already *milra'*, and with such, of course, no change is possible: in other cases the general rule is that where the perfect is preceded by waw conversive, *the tone is thrown forward on to the ultima*. But to this law there is a formidable list of exceptions: it will be seen, however, that for the most part they fall into three or four broad groups which can be recollected without difficulty.

Including, for the sake of completeness, the two rules established in the last chapter, we get the following:—

The tone is *not* thrown forward

(1) When the perfect is immediately followed, without any break in the sense (i. e. without a *distinctive* accent), by a tone-syllable in the succeeding word.

(2) When the perfect is *in pausa*—almost invariably with the greater distinctives, and sometimes also with those of smaller value. Of these two rules no further illustrations will be needed.

Obs. So far as the *regular* verb is concerned, the tone is *uniformly* thrown on in the 1st and 2nd sing., except in the cases covered by these two rules. In 1 Sam. 17, 35. Job 7, 4^b (assuming the verbs to be frequentative) I conceive the accentuation וְהִצַּלְתִּי וְשָׁעַחַי to have arisen from a misconception: the preceding verbs וַיִּצְאֵנִי וַיִּמְדֵּנִי were really frequentative, but, there being no change of tone (see rule 4) to mark this fact, it was forgotten, and then the perfects following were subjoined by means of simple *waw* according to § 132.

(3) In 1 *plur.* of all the modifications, and in 3 *fem. sing.* and 3 *plur.* of Hif'il. Thus Gen. 34, 17 וְלָקַחְנִי. Ex. 8, 23 וְזָבַחְנִי: Lev. 26, 22 וְהִכְרִיתָהּ. Amos 9, 13 וְהִטִּיפוּ. Ezek. 11, 18 וְהִסִּירוּ. It is also naturally not thrown on in 2 *fem. sing.* of verbs with a guttural as their third radical, as וַיִּדְעָתָּה Hos. 2, 22.

Obs. Upon two occasions in Hif'il the general rule is observed: Ex. 26, 33 וְהִבְדִּילָהּ. Lev. 15, 29 וְהִבִּיאָהּ.

(4) In the *Qal* of verbs ל' and ל', as Gen. 7, 4 וַיִּמְחִיתִי. 17, 4 וְהִיִּיתָ. 19 וְקָרַאתָ. 18, 26 וְנִשְׁאַתִּי.

Obs. If the list in Böttcher, ii. 204, is complete, besides וַיִּבְרָא (and this only before a guttural) there are but two instances of *Qal milra'* after ו, viz. Lev. 24, 5. 2 Sam. 15, 33¹ (both gutt.). But in the

¹ He cites indeed 1 Sam. 10, 2. Jer. 2, 2. 3, 12 as well: but there

other modifications the tone is, in the majority of instances, thrown on according to rule, as Ex. 25, 11. Lev. 26, 9 etc.; although a few exceptions are found, cf. Deut. 4, 19. 11, 10. 28, 12. Job 15, 13 al.

(5) Often in those forms of the *Qal* and *Nif'al* in verbs ע'ע and ע'ע which end in ו- or ה- , as Ex. 7, 28 וַיִּבְרָא . Isa. 6, 13 וַיִּשְׁבֶּה . 11, 13 וַיִּסְרֶה . 34, 3 וַיִּנְמְפוּ . 35, 10 וַיִּנְסוּ : but the usage here is very fluctuating, as many of these verbs also occur *milra'*; see Ex. 8, 7 וַיִּסְרֶי . 23, 29 וַיִּרְבֶּה . Isa. 11, 14 וַיַּעֲפֵי . 23, 17 וַיִּשְׁבֶּה etc.

Obs. In the other forms the general rule is adhered to, as Gen. 28, 21 וַיִּשְׁבְּתִי . Deut. 4, 30 וַיִּשְׁבְּתָה . Ps. 89, 24 וַיִּבְתְּחוּי . Ex. 23, 25 וַהֲקִיחוּי . Ezek. 16, 42 וַהֲנַחְתִּי . Num. 14, 15 וַהֲמַתָּה etc. Exceptions (unless when occasioned in accordance with rules 1 or 2, as Gen. 19, 19^b. Ex. 33, 14) are extremely rare: 1 Ki. 2, 31. Jer. 10, 18¹. Amos 1, 8¹ being probably all that exist.

111. It has been already remarked that the peculiar position occupied by the perfect, when thus annexed by ו , as regards the dominant or principal verb, causes it virtually to assume the particular modal phase belonging to the latter. If, for instance, the principal verb involve *will*, *would*, or *let* . . . , the subordinate verbs connected with it by ! *conversive* must be understood in the same tense or mood; in other words, as governed by the same auxiliary: 2 Ki. 5, 11 I said $\text{וַיִּקְרָא וַיַּעֲמֵד וַיֵּצֵא}$ he *will* (or

is no reason for supposing that in these verses the perfects are *milra'*. There is no *metheg* in the antepenultima, and Böttcher seems to have been inadvertently misled by the *postpositive* accent *small telisha*: see Isa. 62, 4. 66, 20.

¹ In these two passages the *mil'el* tone is attested by the Masôra: but Zeph. 1, 17 (cited in my first edition), the correct reading (as noted also by Kimchi, ad loc.) has the tone *milra'*: see Baer's *Liber xii Prophetarum* (1878), pp. iv, 79.

would, if in oratio obliqua) come out and stand and call : the writer might, had he chosen, have repeated the impf. יֵצֵא וְיַעֲמֵד וְיִקְרָא he would come out, and would stand, and would call : this would have been somewhat more emphatic, and greater stress would have been laid on the precise manner in which each individual action was conceived : but, writing in prose, he preferred to adopt the shorter and more flowing mode of expression. Or again, Ps. 109, 10 and let his sons be vagabonds וְיִשְׁאֲלוּ and beg : or, after an infinitive, 1 Ki. 2, 37 in the day that thou goest out (= in whatever day) וְעָבַרְתָּ and passest over Qidron (or, in the day of thy going out and passing over). Now where—as is continually the case in Hebrew—there is a *change of person* between the first and any of the following verbs, we shall find it in English awkward, if not impossible, to adopt such a succinct method of translation : either the auxiliary will have to be repeated each time the person changes, or, since the perfect in the original really indicates a result or consequence (but not the *design*, § 61) of the action denoted by the principal verb, we may even employ *that* with the subjunctive. Gen. 24, 7 may HE send his angel before thee וְלִקְחָתָּ and mayest thou take (or, *that* thou mayest take) a wife for my son from there. 18, 25 far be it from thee . . . לְהַמִּית to slay the righteous with the wicked וְהָיָה and for the righteous to be as the wicked (or, *that so* the righteous should be as the wicked : more neatly in Latin, Absit a te ut occidas justum cum iniquo, fiatque justus sicut impius). 1 Chr. 22, 11 וְיְהִי may Yahweh be with thee וְהִצְלַחְתָּ and thou prosper (or, *so that* thou mayest prosper). Jer. 48, 26 make him drunk . . . וְסִפֵּק and let Moab vomit (or, *that* Moab may vomit).

112. We may now proceed to analyse the mode in which this idiom is employed.

The perfect with $\dot{\text{}}$ *conv.* appears as the continuation of (i) the imperative.

Gen. 6, 14 make thee an ark וּבְנֵהָהָרָה and pitch it. 21 וְאִסַּפְתָּ . 8, 17 bring them out with thee וְשַׂרְצוּ and let them swarm in the earth. (Here notice 1. the *grammar* alone shews that the *waw* is conversive: the tone in שַׂרְצוּ is already *milra'*, so that no alteration can take place from the accession of ו : we must, however, judge of such cases by the analogy of those in which, under similar syntactical conditions, i. e. in the present case, after an imperative, the change of tone can be observed: this analogy leaves us no doubt that the *waw* is conversive here as well. Notice 2. that the dependency of וְשַׂרְצוּ upon the imperative is *obscured* in English by the singular weakness of our language, which all but forbids our using a genuine third pers. imperative, except in exalted or poetical style: the interpolation of *let* makes it seem as though *let them swarm* were quite independent of *bring them out*: whereas in the Hebrew the sense to be given to וְשַׂרְצוּ is *wholly determined* by the meaning of the dominant verb, which is here an imperative. In a point like this, either German, Latin, or Greek has the advantage of English.) Ex. 3, 16 go $\text{וְאִסַּפְתָּ וְאָמַרְתָּ}$. 7, 15 f. 26 etc. 19, 23. Lev. 24, 14 bring forth him that cursed וּסַמְכוּ and let all those that heard lay their hands upon his head (*educ et ponant*, Vulg.). Num. 4, 19 this do to them וְחַיִּי and let them live וְלֹא יָמוּתוּ (note the *impf.*) and not die etc. 1 Sam. 6, 7 f. 15, 3. 2 Sam. 11, 15 set 'Uriah etc. וְשַׁבְתָּם וְנָפְתָהּ וְנָפְתָהּ and retire from behind him, and let him be smitten and die (Vulg. *ut percussus intereat*). 24, 2 go

now through all the tribes וַיִּרְעֵתִי and let me know. Ezek. 20, 20 et sabbata mea sanctificate וְהָיִי et sint (= ut sint, Vulg.) signum inter me et vos.

This is by far the most common construction after an imperative: sometimes, however, a succession of imperatives is preferred, and sometimes the perfect and imperative alternate: Gen. 27, 43 f. וַיִּשְׁבֹּת . . . וַיִּקְוֶם בָּרַח. 45, 9. 1 Sam. 6, 7 f. 2 Ki. 9, 2-3. Prov. 23, 1 f. etc.

113. (ii) After an *imperfect*, in any of its senses: thus—

(1) After the *impf.* as a pure future:—

Gen. 12, 3^b. 18, 18 and Abraham will be a great nation וַיְבָרְכֵנוּ and all nations of the earth will be blessed in him. 40, 13 he will lift up thy head והשיבך and restore thee to thy place, ונתת and thou will give etc. Judg. 6, 16 I shall be with thee והפית and thou will smite Midian (or, will and shall). 1 Sam. 2, 35 f. 8, 11. 18. 17, 32 thy servant will go ונלחם and fight. 46. Isa. 1, 30 f. 2, 2 f. 13, 11. 14, 1. 2. 4. 60, 5. Jer. 16, 4 etc.; or as expressing a purpose or a command (*I will, thou shalt*). Gen. 17, 16 וברכתני. 24, 4. 32, 21. Ex. 8, 23. 20, 9 etc.

Constantly, also, after other words pointing to the future, as a *participle*, Gen. 6, 17 f. and behold, I am bringing the deluge upon the earth והקמתה and will establish etc. 48, 4 behold, I am making thee fruitful והרביתך and will multiply thee . . . ונתתה¹ and give this land etc. Isa. 7, 14 and will call his name 'Immanu'el. 8, 7 f. 13, 19. 19, 1 ff. Jer. 30, 22. 37, 7 f. ושבנו. Hosea 2, 8. 16 f. Amos 2, 14 ואבר. 6, 14

¹ The two accents on this word must not be confused with the double *pashṭa* on words *mil'el*, § 91: the first accent is a conjunctive termed *Qadma*, which is here used in place of *metheg* to mark the counter-tone (p. 123, n. 2). Cf. Ewald, § 97^e.

etc.; or an *infin. absolute*, as Gen. 17, 11. Isa. 5, 5. 31, 5. Ezek. 23, 47; cf. Jer. 7, 9 f.

And after the *prophetic perfect*, the announcement *opening* generally with the *proph. perf.*, which is then followed by the perfect with *waw conv.*: thus Gen. 17, 20 I have blessed him וְהִפְרִיתִי and I will make him fruitful. Num. 24, 17 וְקָם and will rise up. Isa. 2, 11 וְנִשְׁגַּב (cf. *sv.* 12-17). 5, 14^b (prob.; but as the verbs here do not admit of a change of tone, they ought possibly to be referred to § 132). 43, 14 שְׁלַחְתִּי I send to Babel וְהוֹרַדְתִּי and will bring down etc. 48, 15. 52, 10 וְרָאוּ. Jer. 13, 26. 48, 41.

(2) After the *impf.* as a *jussive* or *cohortative*:—

(a) Gen. 1, 14 יְהִי let there be lights וְהָיִי and let them be . . . 28, 3. 43, 14 וְשָׁלַח. 47, 29 f. bury me not in Egypt וְיִשְׁכַּבְתִּי but let me lie with my fathers. Ex. 5, 7 let THEM go וְקִשְׁטוּ and gather themselves straw. 34, 9. Deut. 28, 8. 1 Sam. 12, 20. 24, 13 let Yahweh judge וְנִקְמַנִּי and avenge me! 1 Ki. 1, 2. 8, 28 (after 26). 22, 12 (ironical) and Yahweh give it into thy hands! Ps. 64, 11. 109, 10. 143, 12 וְהֵאבֵרְתָּ.

(β) Gen. 31, 44 come let us make a covenant וְהָיָה and let it be etc. Judg. 19, 13 let us draw near to one of the places וְלָגַנִּי and pass the night in Gib'ah. Mic. 4, 6 f. Ruth 2, 7 let me glean, I pray, וְאֶסְפְּתִי and gather etc.

(3) After an *impf.* denoting *would* or *should*:—Amos 9, 3 f. from there would I command my sword וְהִרְגַתֶּם and it should slay them וְיִשְׁמַתִּי and I would etc. Job 8, 6. 9, 17 with a tempest would he overwhelm me וְהִרְבָּה and multiply my bruises without cause. 31. Judg. 16, 5 (*may*).

(4) Or after the *impf.* as a *frequentative*, whether of present or past time, indifferently:—

(a) Gen. 2, 24 therefore doth a man leave his father

and mother ורבק *and cleave* to his wife והיו *and they are* one flesh. Ex. 18, 16 when they have a matter coming to me¹, וְשָׁפַטְתִּי then (§ 123) *I decide* between them וְהוֹרַעְתִּי *and declare* etc. Isa. 5, 12 והיו (observe 12^b יביטו . . .). 27, 10. 44, 15. וּפָה יִשִּׁק וּבָקֶה *kindleth fire and baketh bread*. Jer. 12, 3² thou seest me וּבָחַנְתָּ *and triest* my heart. 20, 9² וְאָמַרְתִּי *and I keep saying* 'I will not speak of him' . . . והיה *and then* there comes in my heart as it were a burning fire וְנִלְאִיתִי *and I am weary* of forbearing etc. (A. V. here seems to describe a *single* occurrence which would have been denoted by וְאָמַר etc., and conveys no idea of the *repetition* so plainly discernible in the original.) Ezek. 29, 7 וּבִקְעָתָהּ תִּרְוֵן (a description of Egypt's *general* character). Hos. 4, 3. 7, 7 יִחַמוּ וְאָכְלוּ (their *reiterated* ebullitions described). Mic. 2, 2 (after יעשוה *v. 1*). Ps. 10, 10 וְהִנִּיחוּ וּנְפַל *and leave* etc. 46, 10 וְקִצְצִין יִשְׁבֵּר וְעֹזְבוּ *and leave* etc. 49, 11 וְעֹזְבוּ יִשְׁבֵּר וְעֹזְבוּ *and leave* etc. 73, 11 וְאָמַר after ימצו *v. 10*. 78, 38 but he is merciful, forgiveth iniquity, and doth not destroy (impff.), וְהִרְפָּה *and is bounteous* to turn his anger away. 90, 6. Prov. 16, 29. 18, 10. 20, 28. 24, 16. 29, 6. Job 5, 5. 14, 11 and a river will (freq.) decay וְיִבֶשׂ *and dry up*. 33, 18 f. 34, 7 f.

(3) Gen. 2, 6 a mist used to go up וְהִשָּׁקָה *and water* the

¹ So the *text* must be rendered (cf. 22, 8): for the apodosis after כִּי, in the sense of *whenever*, to be introduced by the bare perfect, would be without parallel. If we desire to render *they come to me*, we must read וְבָא.

² These two passages (cf. 6, 17. Ex. 18, 16. Amos 4, 7) are important as shewing that the *waw* after a *frequentative* impf. is really *conversive*: from the nature of the case the verb is under such circumstances generally in the *third* person, in which the distinctive change of tone can rarely occur.

ground. 10. 6, 4. 29, 2 f. an instructive passage: 'three flocks *were lying* there (partcp.), for יִשְׁקוּ they *used* to water flocks from that well,' this is then followed by four pff. freqq. The course of the narrative is resumed only at וַיֹּאמֶר 4: it is clear that v. 3 cannot belong to it, for v. 8 shews that the stone *had not been* rolled away, so that וַגִּלְלוּ describes what *used* to be done. The sudden change of tense—from impf. with ׀ to pf. with ׀!—is most noticeable, and immediately arrests the attention. Contrast the similar scene Ex. 2, 16 f., where the impff. with ׀ describe a continuous series of events happening while Moses was at the well. Ex. 33, 7-11 וַיִּקַּח וַיִּנְטֵה־לוֹ would (or used to) *take and pitch it* (contrast this with a passage like 35, 21-29, ׀ describing what took place upon only *one* occasion). 34, 34 f. Deut. 11, 10 והִשְׁקִיתָ 1 Ki. 14, 28 *used to bear them והשיבום and bring them back.* 2 Ki. 3, 25 וְיִשְׁלִיבוּ וּמִלְאוּהָ (a graphic picture of the way in which the people occupied themselves during their sojourn in Moab). 12, 15-17. Job 31, 29 if I *used to* rejoice . . . וַהֲתַעֲרַרְתִּי (tone as Ps. 28, 1, § 104) *and elate* myself etc.

After a partcp.:—Isa. 6, 2 f. were standing וּקְרָא *and each kept* crying. Prov. 9, 14 וַיִּשְׁבֶּה *and keeps* sitting (after הוֹמִיָּה, v. 13).

And an inf. abs.:—2 Sam. 12, 16 וַיִּשְׁכַּב וְלַן וּבָא *and he fasted on, repeatedly* (during the seven days, v. 18) going in, and passing the night (there), and lying on the earth. 13, 19. Josh. 6, 13 וַתִּקְעוּ הַלְלוֹךְ וַתִּקְעוּ (contrast 1 Sam. 19, 23. 2 Sam. 16, 13 ׀). Jer. 23, 14.

114. Sometimes after a fact has been stated summarily by a perfect, we find this tense succeeded by perfects with *waw conversive*, as though to remind the reader of the real character of what is described: that in such

cases the *waw* is conversive, and not merely conjunctive (Chap. IX), is often shewn by the proximity of an *imperfect*, the frequentative sense of which is unmistakable. At other times, on the other hand, when the frequentative nature of the events described has been sufficiently indicated, the writer, feeling that this circumstance does not call for *continual* prominence, reverts to the ordinary form of prose narrative, as carried on by ׀.

Thus (a) Num. 11, 8 שָׁטוּ וּלְקָטוּ (observe the impf. יָרַד *v.* 9). Amos 4, 7 וְהִמְטַרְתִּי . . . מִנְעֹתַי (a noticeable passage on account of the clear change of tone: observe, too, the following impff.). 2 Ki. 6, 10. 2 Chr. 12, 11 וּנְשֹׂאֹם . . . בָּאוּ.

(β) Judg. 12, 5 וְהָיָה כִּי יֹאמְרוּ and it used to be whenever they said . . . וַיֹּאמְרוּ that they replied etc. 1 Sam. 2, 16^a. 13, 22^b (cf. the impf. *v.* 19). 14, 52. 2 Sam. 15, 2. Jer. 6, 17 וַיֹּאמְרוּ . . . וְהִקְמַתִּי (§ 120). 18, 4. Ps. 78, 40 f. Job 1, 4 f.

The same transition occurs also after the imperfect itself:—Isa. 44, 12. Ps. 106, 43 וַיִּבְכּוּ . . . יָמְרוּ. Job 3, 24. 5, 15 f. 7, 18 yea, thou *visitest* him (even with לְבַקְרִים). 11, 3. 12, 25. 14, 10. 21, 14 (Ps. 73, 11 וַאֲמָרוּ). 31, 27 (contrast *v.* 29 quoted § 113) etc.

Obs. In some of these cases the ׀ introduces the definite act which terminates a scene previously described, or the settled state which succeeds or accompanies the reiterated actions: so Judg. 6, 5. Ps. 78, 35: cf. 99, 7. Prov. 7, 13^b (in 13^a the pff. are frequentative). Num. 9, 23^b. 2 Chr. 33, 6^b. Comp. Böttcher, ii. 216.

115. The perfect with *waw conversive* is further found where the imperfect is preceded by various particles: as אֲזַיִל *perhaps*: Gen. 27, 12 *perhaps* my father will feel me וְהָיִיתִי and I shall be . . . וְהִבֵּאתִי and I shall bring upon

myself a curse. Num. 22, 11 after אֹכֵל (in v. 6 the *impf.*). 23, 27. 2 Sam. 16, 12. 2 Ki. 19, 4.

אִם *or if*: 1 Sam. 26, 10 *or if* his day should come וְיָמָת and he die. Ezek. 14, 17. 19.

אִם *then*: 1 Sam. 6, 3 *then* will ye be healed לָכֶם וְנוֹדַע and it will be known to you etc. Ps. 19, 14 (tone, § 104).

אִיךָ *how?* Gen. 39, 9 *how* can I do this great evil חַטָּאתַי and sin against God? 2 Sam. 12, 18 *how* shall we say to him, The child is dead, וְעֵשָׂה (translating freely to shew the connexion) and so make him vex himself? So אִיכָבֶה Esth. 8, 6 (with אֹכֵל).

אַל: Jer. 17, 21 *do not* bear any burden on the sabbath-day וְהִבֵּאתֶם and bring it etc. Ps. 143, 7 *do not* hide thy face from me וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי and let me be like them that go down into the pit (tone as in the parallel Ps. 28, 1, after פֶּן)¹.

אִם *if*: Gen. 28, 20 f. 32, 9 *if* 'Esau comes to one camp וְהִכְהִי and smites it. Deut. 8, 19. 11, 28 וּסְרַתֶּם. 20, 11 וּפְתַחְהָ. Judg. 4, 20 וְשִׁאלְךָ וְאָמַר. 14, 12 וּמִצַּאתֶם. 1 Sam. 12, 14. 15. 17, 9; and so countless times: see further on hypotheticals below, Chap. XI.

Similarly after אִם = *num?* as in an oath: Gen. 24, 38. Ezek. 20, 33 f. as I live, if I will not be king over you . . . וְהוֹצֵאתִי and bring you forth from the people וְקִבַּצְתִּי and gather you!

אִשֶּׁר = *so that*: Deut. 2, 25. 4, 6 *so that* they will hear וְאָמְרוּ and say (cf. v. 10 יִלְמְדוּן . . .).

= *when*: Lev. 4, 22 when a ruler וְעֵשָׂה יַחַטָּא sinneth and doth etc. (not *hath sinned*, A. V.). Num. 5, 29 וְנִטְמָאָהּ.

= *who so* (the person indicated being essentially indefi-

¹ The second verb separated from ו, and accordingly in the *impf.* Ps. 38, 2; ἀσυνδέτως, 35, 19. 75, 6. 1 Sam. 2, 3.

nite $\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ or $\delta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ with subj. : this construction of אִשֶׁר is quite distinct from another which will be immediately noticed): Gen. 24, 14 the girl *to whom* אֲמַר I may say, Let down thy pitcher, וְאָמְרָה *and she reply*, Drink (puella cui ego dixero . . . et illa responderit—the girl, whoever she may be, in whom these two conditions are fulfilled). 43 (where the tone of וְאָמְרָתִי proves, if proof were needed, that וְאָמְרָה in 14 has ! *conversive*). Lev. 21, 10. Judg. 1, 12 LXX rightly $\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\eta \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\rho\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta\tau\alpha\iota$. 1 Sam. 17, 26. Isa. 56, 4 אִשֶׁר יִשְׁמְרוּ וּבָחֲרוּ, LXX $\delta\sigma\omicron\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu \phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota$. Jer. 17, 5. 7 (where, from the change of subject in the two verbs יִבְטַח and הִיָּה, the translation cannot preserve the conciseness of the original: ‘who trusts in Yahweh, and whose hope Yahweh is’). 27, 11 τὸ ἔθνος ὃ ἐὰν εἰσαγάγῃ . . . καὶ ἐργάσῃται αὐτῷ. Ps. 137, 9 (שׁ).

Lev. 18, 5 which a man *may* do וְחָיָה *and live* in them, or since, in the double statement enunciated, the occurrence of the second is so linked to that of the first as to be dependent upon it, ‘which *if* a man do, he *may* (or *shall*) live in them.’ Ezek. 20, 11. 13. Neh. 9, 29. Deut. 19, 4. Isa. 29, 11 f. 36, 6.

Obs. There is, however, another construction of אִשֶׁר followed by the *perfect*, or by the *impf.* and then וַ, which must not be confused with that just explained. There the writer had an indefinite contingency in view: here he contemplates a distinct occurrence¹: compare, with the perfect alone, Lev. 7, 8 the skin of the burnt sacrifice which הִקְרִיב he *hath* offered (in the case assumed). Thus we find Deut. 17, 2–4 a man who יַעֲשֶׂה doeth evil וַיֵּלֶךְ *and goeth* and serveth

¹ Cf. the similar case of אָמַם Num. 5, 27 etc. if she *have* made herself unclean, וַתִּמְעַל *and played* false: see below, § 138 Obs.

other gods, וְהִזְכִּיר *and it be told thee* etc.; or the two constructions united, as Lev. 15, 11 every one whom the וַיִּגַע touches (יגַע), and who הָאִשָּׁה *has not* (or shall not have, in the assumed case) drenched his hands with water. 17, 3 f. whose slays an ox . . . and לא הביאו *hath not brought it* etc. (v. 9 we find the impf. and *doth not bring it*: Onqelos אִתְּיָהּ, אִתְּיָהּ, and the Peshito אִתְּיָהּ, אִתְּיָהּ retain the difference of tense, which the other versions fail to reproduce). 9, 13 (לא היה and וחרל). Ezek. 18, 6 (*hath not eaten, never draws near*).

וְיִשְׁאַל *interrogativum*: Ex. 2, 7 shall I go וְיִקְרָאתִי and call? Num. 11, 22 shall flocks be slain for them וּמִצָּא and it be enough for them? (with change of subject: or, *so that it may be enough for them?* LXX μὴ σφαγήσονται . . . καὶ ἀρκέσει;) 1 Sam. 23, 2. Ruth 1, 11 have I still sons in my womb והיו and will they be (or, *for them to be*) to you for husbands? 1 Chr. 14, 10.

Or in a simple question: Judg. 15, 18 shall I die of thirst וְנִפְלַתִּי and fall into the hand of the uncircumcised?

Obs. After the 'modal' perfect (§ 19. 2), Judg. 9, 9. 11. 13 am I to have ended my fatness וְהִלַּכְתִּי and go? So 1 Sam. 26, 9 (with מי).

וְהִלַּכְתִּי: 2 Sam. 4, 11 shall I not seek his blood from your hand וְיִבְעַרְתִּי and sweep you from the earth? 2 Ki. 5, 12 shall I not wash in them וְיִטְהַרְתִּי and be clean? Ezek. 38, 14 f. Amos 8, 8. Prov. 24, 12.

וְהִלְכָה = *if*: Jer. 3, 1 if a man divorces his wife וְהִלְכָה and she goes etc. Hag. 2, 12 (for the position of וְיִ before the apodosis, cf. Gen. 18, 24. 28. 24, 5 after אולי; Job 14, 14 after אם; 2 Ki. 7, 2. Ezek. 17, 10 after הנה).

וְיִשְׁאַל or וְיִשְׁאַל *ere that*: Jer. 13, 16.

וְיִשְׁאַל *as when*: Deut. 22, 26 as when a 'man' יָקוּם rises up against his neighbour וְיִרְצָחוּ and smites him mortally. Isa. 29, 8. 65, 8. Amos 5, 19 as when a man flees before the lion וּפְנֵעוּ and the bear meets him.

כִּי = *that*: Gen. 37, 26 what gain נִהְרִג כִּי that we should slay (or, *when, if*, we slay) our brother וּבְכִינִי and conceal his blood? 1 Sam. 29, 8 that I am not to go וּנְלַחֲמָתִי and fight. Job 15, 13 why doth thy heart carry thee away . . . that thou shouldst turn thine anger against God וְהִצַּאתָ and so utter words out of thy mouth? (tone, § 110. 4 *Obs.*) Cf. Neh. 6, 11.

= *when*: Ex. 21, 20 when a man smites his servant וּמָת and he dies. Deut. 4, 25. 6, 10 f. when Yahweh bringeth thee into the land . . . : וְאָכַלְתָּ וּשְׂבַעְתָּ and thou eatest and art satisfied, take care etc. 12, 20. 29. 17, 14: and so constantly.

כִּי אִם = *surely*: 1 Ki. 20, 6 surely I will send my servants וּחוּפְשׁוּ. (2 Sam. 15, 2 1 Kt. followed by a single verb only.)

Obs. After a perfect (according to § 14 a), 2 Ki. 5, 20 if I do not run וּלְקַחְתִּי and get something from him! Jer. 51, 14: cf. Judg. 15, 7, where after a perfect similarly placed we have וְאָחַר אַחֲרָיו: had not אַחַר intervened, this would have been וּקְדַלְתִּי.

לֹא or בִּלְ not (the negative not being repeated, but its influence extending over two clauses: Gesenius' *Grammar*, § 152. 3; Kalisch, § 104. 9): Ex. 28, 43 that they may not bear (incur) iniquity וּמָתוּ and die. 33, 20 man cannot see me: וְחָיָה and live (cf. Deut. 5, 21 that God may speak with a man, וְחָיָה and he live). Lev. 11, 43^b. 19, 12 not shall you swear falsely וְחָלַלְתָּ and thou profane the name of God. 29. 22, 9. Num. 4, 15 they shall not touch what is holy וּמָתוּ and so die. 20. Deut. 7, 25 וּלְקַחְתָּ. 26 and so become accursed. 19, 10. 22, 1. 4 וְהִתְעַלַּמְתָּ. 23, 15. Isa. 14, 21 בִּלְ. 28, 28 not for ever does he thresh it והִמָּם and drive the wheel of his cart over it. 2 Chr. 19, 10 וְהָיָה. And with the verb separated from וְ and so in the impf., Lev. 10, 6.

כִּמְעַט *almost*: Gen. 26, 10 (with pf. as first verb) almost had one of the people lain with her וְהִבֵּאתָ *and so thou hadst brought guilt upon us.*

לִי *if*: Ezek. 14, 15 if I were to cause noisome beasts to pass through the land וְשִׁבַּלְתָּהּ *and they were to make it bereaved, והיתה and it were to become desolate.*

למה *why?* 2 Ki. 14, 10 (= 2 Chr. 25, 19) why wouldst (or *shouldst, wilt*) thou challenge misfortune וּנְפַלְתָּהּ *and fall?* Jer. 40, 15 why *should* he smite thee *and* all Israel *be scattered?* Qoh. 5, 5. Dan. 1, 10.

Obs. The impf. after למה *may* be frequentative, as 1 Sam. 2, 29, in which case it can be followed by ׀, § 114 (B).

לְמַעַן *in order that*: Gen. 12, 13 *that* it may be well with me וְחַיְתָּהּ *and* my soul may live (prosper) because of thee. 18, 19. Ex. 10, 2. Deut. 5, 30 וְטוֹב. 6, 18 *that* it may be well with thee וּבִאתָ וְיָרַשְׁתָּהּ *and that thou mayest go and inherit the good land.* 13, 18. 16, 20. 22, 7. Isa. 28, 13 לְמַעַן יִלְכוּ וּכְשֵׁלוֹ אַחֲזֵר וְנִשְׁבְּרוּ וְנִקְשׁוּ וְנִלְכְּדוּ. 66, 11 *and* often.

מִי with impf. expressing a *wish*: 2 Sam. 15, 4 O that some one would make me judge, וְעָלֵי יבֹא *that to me might come every one who . . .* (where if עָלֵי were not intended to be emphatic, we should have had וּבִבֹא עָלֵי) וְהִצַּדִּיקָתִי *and I would give him justice!* Deut. 5, 26 O that this their heart might be theirs always! (lit. 'who will grant והיה *and so* this their heart *had been*'): for other constructions of this phrase see Job 6, 8 תבוא. 13, 5. 14, 13; 19, 23 וְיִכְתְּבוּ; 23, 3 ידעתי: elsewhere the infin., 11, 5. Ex. 16, 3 al.

יִדְרֶךְ מִי = *perhaps*: 2 Sam. 12, 22 Qri (Kt. יִחַנְנִי, impf. as Joel 2, 14. Jon. 3, 9).

מָתִי *when?* Ps. 41, 6 when will he die וְאָבַר *and* his name *perish?*

עֲקֵב *in return for*: Deut. 7, 12 as a return for (Onqelos וְהִלַּחְתָּ) your hearkening to these statutes וּשְׁמַרְתָּם and *observing* them¹.

עַד or עַד אֲשֶׁר *until*: Ex. 23, 30 until thou multiply וְנִחַלְתָּ and *inherit* the land. Num. 11, 20 וְהָיָה . Isa. 32, 15 $\text{עַד יַעֲרָה וְהָיָה וְיִהְיֶה יְהוֹשֵׁב}$ Hos. 5, 15. Mic. 7, 9. Qoh. 12, 1. 2. Neh. 4, 5: עַד יֵשׁ Ct. 2, 17. 4, 6.

Obs. So when the verb after עַד is a perfect (§ 17), Isa. 6, 11 f.

Similarly in the other construction of עַד with an infinitive, Gen. 27, 45. Judg. 6, 18 $\text{בְּאֵי וְהוֹצֵאתִי}$; or a substantive, 1 Sam. 14, 24 until (it be) evening וְנִקְמָתִי and *I avenge* myself: this passage shews how Lev. 11, 32. 17, 15 should be understood ('till the evening (come) and it be clean'). 2 Ki. 18, 32. Isa. 5, 8 until there is no more room וְהוֹשַׁבְתֶּם and *ye have to dwell* by yourselves in the midst of the land.

Obs. In a few passages a rather singular usage is found after עַד, Judg. 16, 2 saying $\text{עַד אִוֵּר הַבֶּקֶר וְהָרִגְנוּהוּ}$ till the morning dawns and *we kill* him. Josh. 1, 15. 6, 10 till the day when I say to you, Shout, וְהָרִיעוּתָם and *ye shout* (cf. Esth. 4, 11 וַחֲיָה). Gen. 29, 8. 1 Sam. 1, 22 for she said, Till the lad be weaned and *I bring him* etc. 2 Sam. 10, 5 (= 1 Chr. 19, 5) tarry in Y^ericho till your beards grow וּשְׁבַתֶּם and *ye return*. Dan. 8, 14. Is the perfect in these cases to be considered as under the government of the infinitive or imperfect after עַד (as I have translated), or as under that of a preceding verb implied or expressed, thus, '(wait) till the day when I say, Shout, and then shout,' 'tarry till etc. and then return?' The general structure of the sentences seems to favour the former supposition, and, if the latter were true, we might expect אַחַר added, as Josh. 2, 16. Compare Hdt. iii. 181. 5 ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπίεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὗ δύεται τε ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρόν where the determining

¹ This passage is obscure; but it seems that the verbs must be understood in a frequentative sense: cf. 8, 20.

moment and the determined event are similarly made co-ordinate, but where in English (disregarding the $\tau\epsilon$) we should probably exhibit their relation to each other somewhat more explicitly by rendering 'till the sun sets, *and then* the water becomes warm.'

פֶּן *lest*: Gen. 3, 22. 19, 19 lest some evil cleave to me: וּמָתִי *and I die* (tone as § 110. 2). Ex. 1, 10. 23, 29. 34, 15 f. וְאָבִלְתָּ וְלָקַחְתָּ ... פֶּן תִּכְרַת וְנָנִי. Deut. 4, 16. 19. 8, 12-17. 15, 9 וּקְרָא ... וְהָיָה לוֹ וְהָיָה ... וְרָעָה ... וְלֹא תִתֵּן לוֹ וְהָיָה ... פֶּן יִהְיֶה ... פֶּן תִּתְחַשֶּׁה וְהָיָה ... 2 Sam. 12, 28. Hos. 2, 5. Amos 5, 6. Ps. 28, 1 וְנִשְׁלַתִּי *lest thou be silent and I become like etc.* Prov. 30, 9 (for the tone in these two passages, see § 104). 5, 10 ff. (וְנִשְׁלַתִּי, וְנִשְׁלַתִּי) etc.

Obs. After a perfect (§ 41 *Obs.*), 2 Sam. 20, 6 lest he *have gotten* him fenced cities וְהִצִּיל עֵינֵינוּ *and pluck out our eye.* Or should we read יִמְצָא for יִמְצָא?

שֵׁן Qoh. 2, 24 וְשָׂתָה וְשָׂתָה *that he should eat and drink.* 3, 13. 12, 3.

116. After all these particles to find the *imperfect repeated* (as Ps. 2, 12 וְהִיא וְהִיא) is very unusual; the following are, I believe, nearly all the instances of such repetition:—

אֲוִי Num. 22, 6. 1 Ki. 18, 5. Jer. 20, 10. 21, 2. אִיךְ 3, 19. אִם 31, 36. Job 11, 10. 20, 12 f. 36, 11. הֲלֹא Hab. 2, 6 וְיִאֲמַר Ps. 49, 19 (if = *though*). Lam. 3, 8? לֹא Job 7, 21. לְמָה Isa. 40, 27. Prov. 5, 20. Job 13, 24. לְמַעַן Ex. 23, 12. Isa. 41, 20. 43, 10. Ps. 78, 6. מָתִי Ps. 42, 3. עַד Hos. 10,

¹ The *metheg* is here thrown back from the syllable which has the counter-tone on to a preceding *shwa'*: it is then sometimes called *Ga'ya'* גַּעֲיָא i. e. *crying*, from its causing the *shwa'* to be *sounded* rather more audibly than usual. Compare Kalisch, pt. ii. § 10. 3 (b); Ewald, § 96^c; Böttcher, i. p. 122; or (exhaustively) Baer, in his papers on *metheg* in Merx's *Archiv*, 1870, pp. 56, 194.

12. Qoh. 12, 6. Lam. 3, 50 **וַיִּרְאֵהוּ** פֶּן Jer. 51, 46. Ps. 2, 12. Prov. 31, 5.

Obs. 1. In several of these examples, a reason may be found for the repetition of the same tense in the fact that the second verb indicates not a progress of thought, as compared with the first, but a parallelism: where a distinct idea follows afterwards, the pf. and **וַי** *conv.* may then be used, Jer. 26, 3. Ezek. 6, 6. Hab. 2, 7. The opposite transition occurs Qoh. 12, 4^b-5^a, perhaps, the sentence being a long one, to give it fresh strength.

Obs. 2. Whenever the impf. with **וַי** appears after any of these particles, it is because some *definite* act is alluded to: see, for instance, Gen. 3, 17 (**כִּי** because). 12, 19 why didst thou say, She is my sister **וְאָקֵה** and lead me to take her? (so we may render to avoid the awkward change of person). 31, 27. 1 Sam. 19, 17^a (different from 17^b **לְמָה אֲמִיחֶךָ** why should I slay thee? which would be succeeded by a pf. and **וַי**). 1 Ki. 10, 7 after **עָר**.

Obs. 3. The usage with regard to **פֶּן** is not stated with the precision of which it would admit in the note of the Dean of Peterborough on Ps. 28, 1. The two *regular* types (which are also the same for **כִּי**, **לְמַעַן**, **עַד**, etc.), alternating merely in accordance with the order of words, are **פֶּן יבוא ויאמר** and **פֶּן יבוא ואמר** . . . *exceptional*. The only supposed instance of **פֶּן יבוא . . . אמר** is Ps. 38, 17^b; this, however, is clearly an independent statement, in no way under the government of the preceding **פֶּן**. Comp. § 14 *end*.

117. The reader will be aware (see Gesenius, §§ 132 rem. 2, 134 rem. 2) that it is a common custom with Hebrew writers, after employing a participle or infinitive, to *change the construction*, and, if they wish to subjoin other verbs which logically should be in the partcp. or infin. as well, to pass to the use of the finite verb. Thus Gen. 27, 33 **וַיִּבְרָךְ וַיִּבְרָךְ** ὁ θηρεύσας θήραν καὶ εἰσενέγκας (lit. ὁ θηρεύσας θήραν καὶ εἰσήνεγκε). 39, 18 **פְּהַרְיָי קוֹלִי** **וְאַקְרָא** LXX ὅτι ὑψώσα τὴν φωνήν μου καὶ ἐβόησα (where, by the alteration of form undergone by the first verb through

the use of $\sigma\tau\iota$, the change of construction is disguised: elsewhere, by rendering literally, LXX have distorted the real sense of the original, e. g. Ps. 92, 8. 105, 12 f. $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omega\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ .\ .\ .\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$). Now, under what circumstances do the partcp. and infin. break off into the *perfect* with \beth , and into the *imperfect* with $\cdot\beth$ respectively? The answer to this question will be found to be in strict accordance with what we know already concerning the nature of the two constructions. Wherever the partcp. or infin. asserts something indefinite or undetermined—wherever, therefore, it may be resolved into *whoever*, *whenever*, *if ever* etc. ($\acute{o}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ not $\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ not $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$ etc.)—we find the *perfect* with \beth *conv.* employed: where, on the contrary, the partcp. or infin. asserts an actual concrete event, we find the following verbs connected with it by the *imperfect* and $\cdot\beth$. Even when the partcp. is used in characterizing a person, or class of persons, the choice of the form which is to follow it is evidently regulated by the same distinction; the one *localizes* the action specified, perhaps embodies an allusion to a definite case, the other leaves it more vague, though at the same time suggesting forcibly its potential, or actual, repetition¹.

Thus, Ex. 21, 12 $\text{וְיָמַת אִישׁ מִכָּה אִישׁ}$ the smiter of a man (= whoever smites a man), and he dies. 16. Num. 19, 13². Jer. 21, 9 he that goeth out וְנָפַל and falleth; and as a frequentative, 22, 13². 14. Ex. 34, 7². Isa. 5, 23². 44, 25². 26² that confirmeth the word of his servant, and accomplisheth the counsel etc. Ezek. 33, 30. Hab. 2, 12.

¹ The difference may be compared to that in Greek between $\acute{o}\ \acute{o}\upsilon\ .\ .\ .$ and $\acute{o}\ \mu\eta\ .\ .\ .$ with the participle.

² The verb separated from \beth , and consequently in the impf.

But וַיִּהְיֶה of a *fact*:—Gen. 35, 3 who answered me וַיְהִי and was with me. 49, 17^b. Num. 22, 11. Isa. 30, 2¹. 43, 7¹. Jer. 23, 31 f. Amos 5, 7¹. 12¹. 6, 3. 5¹. 9, 6.

Occasionally, we have וַיִּ with the impf.: 2 Sam. 5, 8. Dan. 12, 12.

Obs. Sometimes, as in some of the passages from Amos, the two forms interchange (comp. above, § 35), though each has still its proper force: thus 6, 1^b וּבֵאוּ and the house of Israel come (freq.) to them (so 8, 14 וַיֹּאמְרוּ), but 3 ye that put far the evil day וַיִּבְרִיחוּ, and have brought near the seat of violence; 6, 6 which drink with bowls of wine יִמְשְׁחוּ . . . וַיִּ and anoint themselves (freq.) etc. וְלֹא נִחַדוּ but are not grieved etc.; comp. similarly 5, 8 (§ 12) and 9 (§ 33); 9, 5 and 6; Isa. 29, 15. 21. Contrast also (though these are somewhat different) Jer. 48, 19 וְנִמְלָטָהּ and her that escapeth (whoever she may be), and Isa. 57, 3 וַתִּזְנֶה and of her that hath played the whore.

118. The distinction will be more conspicuous in the case of the infinitive: Gen. 18, 25 וְהָיָה . . . לְהָמִית. Ex. 1, 16. 33, 16 וְנִפְלִינִי וְנִבְלַתְךָ in thy going (= if thou goest) with us and we are separated from etc. Deut. 4, 42 . . . לְנֶם שָׁמָּה . . . וְהָיָה . . . וְנִסִּים². 30, 16 וְהָיִיתָ . . . לְלִבְתָּ. 1 Sam. 10, 8 until my coming וְהוֹרַעְתִּי and I declare (until I come and declare). 2 Sam. 13, 28 וְאָמַרְתִּי . . . בְּטוֹב at the moment when Amnon's heart is merry and I say. 1 Ki. 2, 37. 42. 8, 33 וְשָׁבִי בְּהִנָּגְךָ עִמָּךְ when thy people are smitten and turn (a hypothetical case). 35. 60 f. (לִמְעַן הָעֵת . . . וְהָיָה). Ezek. 3, 20 when he turns וְעָשָׂה and does evil. 5, 16 f. 12, 15^b. 18, 23. Job 37, 15. Amos 1, 11 because he pursued . . . וְשָׂחַת and (repeatedly) ruined mercy וַיִּטְרַף and so his anger goes on to tear for ever (where the change of tense is noticeable).

¹ Perfect for the same reason.

² וְנִסִּים here is merely *resumptive*, reinforcing the idea conveyed by לְנֶם after the long intermediate clause: cf. 18, 6 וּבֵאוּ. Lev. 17, 5. Jer. 34, 18–20 וַתִּהְיֶה. Zech. 8, 23; וְהָיָה Num. 10, 32. Deut. 20, 11.

Of course, as before, when separated from ו, the verb falls into the imperfect tense:—Ex. 28, 28. Josh. 20, 9. Isa. 5, 24. 10, 2 יבוי . . . לִהְיוֹת וְ. 45, 1. 49, 5. Ps. 105, 22 etc.: and with the *waw* omitted, Isa. 64, 1 ירגזו (להודיע ל) virtually governed by the ל in להודיע).

With these contrast Gen. 39, 18. Lev. 16, 1. Josh. 8, 24 ויפלגו . . . בכלוח ו Sam. 24, 12 ולא הרגתיך ו . . . בכרתי ו . . . Ki. 18, 18 in thy forsaking ותלך and going (definite acts extending into the present). Isa. 47, 10 (חברב ותבטחי after ברב v. 9). Ezek. 16, 31. 36. 25, 6 al. Ps. 50, 16 what is it to thee לספר to tell my statutes ותשא and take my covenant upon thy mouth? (two facts which have actually occurred: not 'that thou *shouldst* take,' ונשאת). 92, 8. 105, 12 f. etc. Cf. Ezek. 36, 18 טמאה . . . ועל הדם ו because of the blood and that they have defiled her.

Obs. As before, contrast Ezek. 18, 27 ויעש and has done, with v. 26: comp. § 138. ii. (a.)

119. But the perfect with *waw conv.* is also found without being attached to any preceding verb from which to derive its special signification: like the iron which, after long contact with the magnet, becomes itself magnetic, the perfect with *waw*, from constant association with a preceding imperfect, became so completely invested with the properties of the latter that, though not originally belonging to it but only *acquired*, it still continued to retain and exhibit them, even when that in which they had their proper seat was no longer itself present. We have already spoken of it as the *companion construction* of the imperfect: it has, in fact, grown so like its partner as to be able to assume its functions and act as its substitute. It may thus occur at the beginning of a sentence or after

a verb which, unlike the 'dominant' verb, has no influence in determining the range of its meaning; the force it is then intended to convey must, as in the case of the imperfect, be gathered from the context: for although most commonly, perhaps, possessing the signification of a future, it must often be understood in one of the numerous other senses borne by the many-sided imperfect.

Thus (a) Gen. 17, 4. 26, 22 now hath Yahweh made room for us וַיִּפְרֵינוּ and we shall be fruitful in the land. Ex. 6, 6 I am Yahweh; וְהוֹצֵאתִי and I will bring you out etc. Num. 21, 8. Josh. 2, 14 והיה and it shall be, when etc. Judg. 13, 3 behold thou art barren and hast not borne; וְהָרִית but thou shalt conceive, and bear a son. 1 Sam. 15, 28 and will give it. 17, 36. 20, 18. 2 Sam. 7, 9^b-10. 1 Ki. 2, 44 and Yahweh will requite. 9, 3 והיו and my eyes and heart shall be there. Isa. 2, 2 והיה. 6, 7 see, this hath touched thy lips, וְסָר and so thy iniquity shall pass away. 30, 3. Ezek. 17, 24^b וְעָשִׂיתִי וְדַבַּרְתִּי אֲנִי have spoken, and I will perform. 22, 14 al. 23, 31. 30, 6. 10. 34, 11 (cf. Jer. 23, 39). 35, 11. Isa. 56, 5. Hos. 8, 14 וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי. 10, 14. 11, 6. Amos 5, 26¹ (or, at any rate, 27).

Or to express what is not certain to happen, but is

¹ The sense of this much-disputed verse can scarcely be settled by grammatical, apart from exegetical, considerations: the *presumption* afforded by the general usage of the prophets favours the future meaning for וּנְשֵׂאתָם, which was already adopted by Rashi: on the other hand, the pf. with simple waw, giving a past sense, meets us occasionally unexpectedly, e. g. 7, 2. 4. Ezek. 20, 22. Job 16, 12. Still, in these passages, the context excludes misunderstanding, in a way in which it would not do, had the prophet used וּנְשֵׂאתָם while intending that sense here.

only probable, and so, perhaps, feared:—2 Sam. 14, 7 *and they will* quench. Gen. 20, 11 there is no fear of God in this place, וְהָרַגִי *and they will* kill me. 34, 30: cf. 1 Ki. 18, 14^b.

(β) With the force of a positive command, usually in the second person:—Num. 4, 4 f. this is the service of the sons of Qōhâth וְבָנָה Aaron *shall* come and take down etc. Deut. 18, 3^b; 10, 16 וּמִלֵּתֶם. 19 וְאַהַבְתֶּם *and or so ye shall* love the stranger. 29, 8 וְשִׁמְרֶתֶם *and ye shall* observe. Josh. 22, 3^b (cf. the imper., v. 5). 23, 11. 2 Ki. 5, 6 (the following verses shew that the king of Israel understood וְאַסְפִּיתִי as practically a *command* which could not very conveniently be declined: not, therefore, as 1 Sam. 20, 5). Jer. 7, 27. 29, 26^b. Ezek. 22, 2 wouldst thou judge, judge the bloody city? וְהוֹרַעְתָּהּ *then declare* unto her all her abominations (cf. the imper. 20, 4. 23, 36). Zech. 1, 3. Mal. 2, 15^b. 16^b.

(γ) Sometimes it is interrogative:—Ex. 5, 5 וְהִשְׁבַּתֶּם *and¹ will ye* stop them²? Num. 16, 10 (ה) 9). 1 Sam. 25, 11 וְלָקַחְתִּי *and shall I* take? 2 Ki. 14, 10 (2 Chr. 25, 19). Isa. 66, 9 am I he that causeth to bring forth וְעֲצַרְתִּי *and*

¹ This use of וְ is completely parallel to the way in which *et* appears in Latin 'to subjoin an emphatic question or exclamation: ' the force of וְ Ex. 5, 5. 1 Sam. 25, 11 is just that of *et* Verg. Georg. ii. 433 (*and yet, after and in spite of 429-432, do men hesitate?* etc.). Aen. i. 48. vi. 806 etc. Compare further how וְ is employed to introduce an impassioned speech, without anything *expressed* previously to which it can be attached. Num. 20, 3 וְלוֹ *And* if we had only perished with our brethren! 2 Sam. 18, 11 וְהִנֵּה. 12. 24, 3. 2 Ki. 1, 10 (but 12 אִם alone). 7, 19 (sarcastic: yet cf. 2). So before מִי, 1 Sam. 10, 12. 15, 14 (מִה). Judg. 9, 29. Num. 11, 29; and very often before מְדוּעַ or לְמַה.

² Comp., in separation from וְ, the impf., Ezek. 33, 25. 26 וְהִרְאֶנְךָ הִירְשׁוּ.

shall I shut up? (cf. the *impf.* וְלֹא אֹלִיד in 9^a: the break in the sense before אָמַר אֱלֹהִים co-operates with the *tifcha* to keep the tone back, § 104). Ezek. 18, 13 וְהִי. Mal. 1, 2, 2, 14. 17. 3, 7. 8. 13. Ps. 50, 21 ('and shall I keep silence?' Hitz.: tone as 28, 1 after פֶּן). Job 32, 16¹ (Hitz. Del.). 1 Chr. 17, 17 and wilt thou regard me?

(8) In entreaty or suggestion, as a precativè or mild imperative:—Gen. 24, 14 וְהִיא *may* it be that . . . (possibly under the influence of the imperatives, *v.* 12). 47, 23 *so*w then. Deut. 2, 4^b וְנִשְׁמַרְתֶּם 4, 15. 7, 9 and often וְיָדַעְתָּ *know* then. 30, 19 behold I set before thee life and death, וּבַחֲרָתָּ *so choose* life. Judg. 11, 8 וְהִלַּכְתָּ 1 Sam. 6, 5. 20, 5. 24, 5 וְעָשִׂיתָ. 25, 27 וְנָתַנָּה (see § 123). 1 Ki. 2, 6 וְעָשִׂיתָ *do therefore* according to thy wisdom. 3, 9. 8, 28. Ruth 3, 3. 9 I am Ruth וּפְרִשְׁתָּ *so pray spread* etc.

And with נָ added:—Gen. 40, 14 only² if thou rememberest me with thyself, when it is well with thee, וְעָשִׂיתָ-נָא *then shew*, I pray, mercy etc.; and with the נָ thrown back into a preceding protasis (to indicate as early as possible the 'petitionary' character of the speech) in the formula וְלִקְחָתָּ אִם-נָא מִצָּאֵתִי הֲוֵן בְּעֵינַיִךְ Gen. 33, 10. Judg.

¹ וְהוּחַלְתִּי *must*, of course, be so taken, if read *milra'*, and *may*, if it be read *mil'el*: see § 104.

² A most difficult verse. I know of no justification for the usual rendering of the *bare pf.* וְזָכַרְתִּי as either an imperative, or a 'modal' future (*mögest du . . .*): Ewald, § 356^b, appears to regard it as the *pf.* of certitude, 'but thou wilt remember me' etc., though it is scarcely a case where that use of the *pf.* would be expected. The natural rendering of אִם וְזָכַרְתִּי is *if thou rememberest me* (§ 138): this agrees with what follows, but seems to allow no room for the preceding כִּי. Might we, on the strength of 23, 13, substitute אֵךְ for כִּי?

6, 17 (cf. the jussive or imperative alone, Gen. 18, 3. 47, 29. 50, 4. Ex. 33, 13: Gen. 30, 27 the perfect obviously does nothing more than assert a fact).

120. But the most noticeable use of the perfect and *waw conv.*, though the one least likely to attract attention, is *as a frequentative*. After the list of instances in § 113. 4 the reader will find no difficulty in recognizing this force in the perfect and *waw* after a preceding dominant imperfect: but where no such imperfect precedes, it will irresistibly occur to him to ask why the *waw* may not be simply copulative instead of 'conversive'; the more so, inasmuch as owing to the verbs being almost always in the third person, the crucial change of tone cannot take place? Why, he will not unreasonably ask, why should it be asserted that וַיִּשְׁפֹּט Ex. 18, 26 means *and used to judge*, when the obvious and natural rendering seems to be simply *and judged*? why seek to import a far-fetched and improbable sense into such a plain combination of verb and conjunction?

The answer to such objections will be found in the manner in which the perfect and *waw* thus appears. In the first place, it does not occur *promiscuously*: it is not intermingled with the construction with וְ in equal proportions, but is commonly found thickly sprinkled *over detached areas* (e. g. 1 Sam. 7, 16). Now when a writer abandons a construction which he employs in nine cases out of ten in favour of another, and that, too, under the peculiar circumstances just described, it is, at least, reasonable to infer that he means *something* by the change. In the second place, our knowledge that the perfect with *waw conv.* follows the imperfect as a frequentative, coupled with the analogy presented by its use in the

last §, raises the suspicion that it may possibly have the same value even when no imperfect precedes. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that it is constantly found *in company with a bare imperfect*, even though not actually preceded by it. In the passage from Exodus, for example, **וּשְׁפָטוּ** is immediately followed by **יְבִיאֹן** and **יִשְׁפָטוּ**: if, then, these verbs are frequentative (as they clearly are), it is reasonable to infer that **וּשְׁפָטוּ** is so too. It is inconceivable that a coincidence of this sort should be accidental: it is inconceivable that in a multitude of passages the change from **וְ** to the perfect and waw (in itself a striking variation) should take place *concurrently with* another change, that, viz. from the perfect (which, as we know, § 85, is the regular alternative for **וְ**) to the imperfect, without the existence of some common cause accounting for both: but the reason why the imperfect is chosen is patent, it must, therefore, have been the same reason which determined the choice of the perfect and waw. Having once vindicated for this idiom a frequentative force, we shall not hesitate to adopt it in cases where no imperfect follows to precipitate our decision. And the change of tone in Jer. 6, **וְהִקְיַמְתִּי** 17 is a final confirmation of the justice of our reasoning.

Thus Gen. 30, 41 f. (cf. **יָשִׁים** 42). Ex. 17, 10 **וְהָיָה** and it was *whenever* **יָרַם** he raised up his hand, **וַגְּבַר** Israel prevailed. 18, 26 (cf. **יְבִיאֹן**). 40, 31 f. (cf. **יִרְחֲצוּ**). Judg. 2, 18 f. **וְהָיָה**, **וְהוֹשִׁיעֵם** (cf. **יִנְחָם**). 1 Sam. 1, 4 **וַנִּתֵּן** (cf. **יִתֵּן** 5). 6^a (the account of the particular occasion which is the subject of the narrative begins **וַתִּבְכֶּה** 7^b). 2 Sam. 12, 31. 14, 26. 17, 17 J. and A. remained at 'En-rogel, **וְהָלְכָה** and a girl used to go and tell them, **וְהָיָה** and they would go and tell the king: (the narrative recommences **וַיִּרְא** 18, with **וְ**)

just as Gen. 29, 4. 1 Sam. 1, 7). 1 Ki. 4, 7, 5, 7 וּבְלִבִּי (cf. 7^b לֹא יַעֲדֶרּוּ).

Gen. 47, 22 וַאֲבָלוּ. 1 Sam. 1, 3 וְעָלָה (followed by מִיָּמִים (יָמִימָה). 7, 16 וְהָלַךְ מִרֵּי שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה and *he would go year by year, and come round to Beth-el etc., and judge Israel at all these places.* 13, 21 f. 16, 23. 2 Sam. 15, 2. 5 (the *succession* of pff. in most of these passages is very striking). 1 Ki. 9, 25 וְהֶעֱלָה *used to offer* (notice the words *three times a year*). 18, 4^b וּבְלִבְלָם (plainly a *repeated act*, exactly as 5, 7). 2 Ki. 3, 4 וַיֵּשִׁיב, LXX rightly ἐπέστρεψε. 12, 12-17. Jer. 6, 17 and *I kept raising up over you watchmen.*

Obs. There is one place in the Old Testament where the appearance of this idiom is so curious and interesting as to merit special notice. Throughout the whole of the first fourteen chapters of the book of Joshua, although occupied by historical narrative, the nature of the events described is such as not to give opportunity for the use of the perfect and waw except on *three* occasions:—Josh. 6, 8 and 13 in the account of the blowing of the trumpets during the day's march round Y^rfcho (an act which would obviously involve *repetition*), and 9, 12, where the waw is not conversive but simply copulative, according to § 132: except in these three passages, the narrative is *exclusively* carried on by means of וַ, alternating, at times, with the bare perfect. Suddenly, upon arriving at chap. 15 (in which the history proceeds to delineate the course taken by the boundaries of the various tribes), the reader is startled by finding vv. 3-11 a succession of *perfects* connected by *waw* (וַיֵּצֵא, וַיַּעֲבֹר, וַיֵּלֶךְ etc.). What can be the object of the change? In the teeth of the constant usage in the preceding portion of the book, it is highly improbable that the perfect and waw should be a *mere* alternative for וַ: and its known meaning elsewhere affords a strong presumption that here, too, it has a frequentative force, descriptive of the course which the boundary *used to take—used to take*, namely (not, as though a participle, *continuously took*), whenever any one passed along it or examined it. Let us see whether there is anything to confirm this presumption.

After a break, 15, 13-63, in which other matters are related, 16, 1 states how the lot fell for the children of Joseph, *v.* 2 proceeds to describe their boundaries, and the *perfect* at once reappears, continuing as far as the end of *v.* 3. Here follows another break; but *v.* 6 the perfect is again resumed till we reach *v.* 8, where the presumption we had formed is triumphantly corroborated. In *v.* 8 the *imperfect*, the constant companion of the perfect with waw conv., makes its appearance: וַיִּגְדַּל , the force of which cannot be mistaken, vindicates and establishes for all the neighbouring and preceding perfects with waw, the frequentative sense assigned to them above. Nor is this all. In 17, 9 we have the perfect again: *v.* 10 we have the attendant impf. יֹסֵפֵן . By the side of the long series of perfects and waw 18, 12-21, we find *v.* 20 and the Jordan יַגְבֹּל used to bound it on the east: with *v.* 21 וְהָיוּ of cities, cf. 21, 40 תְּהִינָה similarly used. On the contrary, 19, 11-14. 22. 26-29. 34 present no case of an imperfect: but we shall not on that account feel any hesitation in supposing that, as before, a frequentative signification is still intended to be conveyed¹. (In 19, 29 Kt. 33^b, we have $\cdot\text{ו}$, according to § 114: cf. the perfect, *vv.* 13. 34^b.)

121. In the same way that we saw וַיְהִי employed, § 78, in reference to the past, we find its counterpart $\text{וַיְהִי־וַיִּהְיֶה}$ used in a *future* or *frequentative* sense: the discourse, or narrative, after the termination of the adverbial clause, being resumed either by another perfect with *waw conv.*, or by

¹ I did not cite יְהִי 15, 4^b, because in our text the second person לָכֵן follows, which necessitates the rendering *shall be*. It can hardly be doubted, however, that לָכֵן is an error for לָהֶם : which might easily arise from a copyist imagining the preceding verbs to express a command, and so to be addressed to Judah in the *second* person. But there is no indication that either the whole passage or even this single clause has such a sense, which indeed is quite out of harmony with the context: and in the rest of the list, whenever any pronoun appears, it is regularly that of the third person. LXX also have $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$: so that יְהִי must certainly be added to the instances given in the text.

the imperfect alone. The power of this idiom to produce a balanced rhythm, and to ease any sentence which involves a series of conditions or premisses (as Gen. 44, 30 f. 1 Ki. 18, 11 f.; Ex. 1, 10. Deut. 29, 18 after פן), by affording a rest for voice and thought alike, will be manifest.

Examples of its use in the former signification:—Gen. 9, 14. 12, 12. 27, 40 etc. Isa. 2, 2. 7, 18. 21. 23. 14, 3 f. וְנִשְׂאָתָּ וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם . . . and *it shall be*, in the day when etc. and (= *that*) *thou shalt take up* this proverb: so often, especially in the prophets. And in giving expression to a wish, entreaty, or injunction (§ 119 δ), Judg. 4; 20. 7, 4. 17. 9, 33. 11, 31. 21, 22 etc.¹

As a frequentative:—Gen. 38, 9. Num. 21, 9. Judg. 6, 3 וְהָיָה אִם זָרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעָלָה מִדְּבָרָן and *it used to happen*, when Israel had sown, *that* the Midianites *used to* (or *would*) come up; and breaking off into an impf., 2, 19. Ex. 33, 7. 8. 9 וְהָיָה כִּבְבֹּא מֹשֶׁה הָאֱהָלָה יָרַד and *it used to be*, when Moses entered into the Tent, the pillar of cloud *would come down*.

Obs. 1. וְהָיָה is met with also, more frequently than וַיְהִי in the corresponding case § 78 Obs., before a clause which, whether constituted by a ptcp. or otherwise, is resolvable into *who-, which-, whatever*, and implies, therefore, virtually, a hypothetical occurrence: Num. 10, 32^b. 17, 20 and *it shall be*, the man whom I shall choose, his rod shall blossom. 21, 8. Deut. 12, 11. 18, 19. 21, 3. Judg. 7, 4. 11, 31. 19, 30 (freq.). 1 Ki. 18, 24. 19, 17 and *it shall be*: him that escapeth (= *whoso* or *if any* escapeth) from the sword of Hazeal etc. 20, 6. Isa. 4, 3. 24, 18. Joel 3, 5. Nah. 3, 7. Occasionally, indeed, it serves as a *mere* introductory formula, no such clause whatever following, Ex. 4, 16. 1 Ki. 17, 4 and *it shall be*: of the torrent shalt thou drink; and even immediately before the verb, Ezek. 47, 10. 22.

¹ It is very unusual for the sentence to be resumed by the imperative, 1 Sam. 10, 7; cf. 27, 10.

Obs. 2. Num. 5, 27 והיתה is very irregular. Jer. 42, 16 והיתה 17 והיה resemble Gen. 31, 40 אכלני חרב והיה. The accents also, by connecting והיה with the subst. following, express apparently the same broken construction for several of the passages cited in *Obs. 1*, e. g. *And the place* which Yahweh shall choose etc. *shall be*—thither shall ye bring that which I command you: comp. § 165 *Obs.*

Obs. 3. On four occasions, 1 Sam. 10, 5. 2 Sam. 5, 24 (1 Chr. 14, 15). Ruth 3, 4. 1 Ki. 14, 5^b, where we might have expected והיה, we find ויהי. It is impossible to dismiss this so unconcernedly as is done by Ewald, § 345^b: either ויהי must be a mere copyist's error, or some definite explanation must be found for the adoption of so unusual a form: observe how in 1 Sam. ויהי is followed within a few verses by two instances of the customary והיה. In the first three passages, at any rate, the verb has the force of a legitimate jussive: יהי is simply prefixed to the adverbial clause in the same manner as ויהי and והיה. Thus, 1 Sam. *and let it be* (a permissive edict, issued through the medium of the prophet: cf. 2 Ki. 2, 10), when thou goest into the city and meetest (after כבא, § 118: for the *co-ordination* of the two clauses, cf. p. 161 *Obs.*) a band of prophets . . . וצלחה that the spirit of Yahweh fall upon thee etc.; 2 Sam. the sentence is resumed by a second jussive: Ruth 3 *and let it be*, when he lieth down, *and observe* (or *that thou observe*) the place where he lieth. In 1 Ki. *and it shall be*, A.V., for ויהי, is quite out of the question: for how could a mere piece of information have been ever expressed by a *jussive*? We must then either correct והיה, or suppose that some words have dropped out: the sentence reads as though it were incomplete, and והיא מהנכרה suggests irresistibly the idea that it must be a 'circumstantial clause' (see App. I). If we assume that some such words as ואמרת אליה מהנכרה למה זה אה מהנכרה (cf. v. 6) have fallen out, the jussive ויהי is at once explained, an appropriate sense is obtained (*and let it be*, when she enters in disguised, *that thou say* etc.), and the cause of the omission becomes plain in the *ὁμοιοτέλευτον* מהנכרה.

122. We have already had occasion to call attention to the *demonstrative* force of the conjunction *waw*; and in several of the passages cited in § 119 this meaning displayed itself undisguisedly. Certainly the ׀ did not there indicate a *formal* consequence, as when followed by

the voluntative (Chap. V): but a *material* consequence conceived as arising out of, or suggested by, the situation described in the preceding words was none the less clearly intimated. E. g. Ruth 3, 9 the petition וַיִּפְרֹשֶׁתָּהּ is plainly based upon the relation borne by the speaker towards Bo'az, as expressed in the words *I am Ruth*: and the *waw* may fairly be rendered by 'so,' 'then,' 'itaque'¹. It is but a stronger instance of the same demonstrative usage when, as will have now to be explained, ו is employed in certain cases in order to introduce the *predicate*, or, more often, the *apodosis*.

Obs. The relation subsisting between the copulative conjunction and demonstrative roots can be illustrated from Greek and Latin. Of *καὶ* Curtius *Grundzüge der Griech. Etymol.* No. 27, p. 128 ed. 2 writes, 'The form appears to be the Locative of a pronominal stem *κα, κο* (cf. Lith. *kai*, how?), which has here preserved its demonstrative signification. From the same stem springs *τε* with *τ* for *κ*' (on this change see *ibid.* pp. 426 ff., and cf. *τις* with *quis*, *τέσσαρες* with *quatuor*, Sk. *chatvâras* etc.): in *-que*, on the contrary, as in Sk. *cha*, the guttural is retained. On this stem *cha* (from which *ποῦ; πότε; Ion. κοῦ; κότε;* etc. *who, where, whether* etc. are derived), Curtius remarks further, p. 410, 'The earliest use of the stem *ka* was probably, like that of all the pronominal stems, as a demonstrative. It is preserved in the Locative *ἐ-καί*, with which *-ce* [as in *illi-c* etc.], Lat. *cis, ci-tra* must be compared.' In a similar way *δέ* (cf. *δῆ, ὅ-δε*), if not *et* (cf. *ἔτι*), is probably to be explained: see pp. 560 f., 188.

¹ Compare further, in connexion with this use of ו, Gen. 27, 8 and often $\text{וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיִּזְכֹּר}$ 34, 21 וַיִּשְׁבוּ Ex. 2, 20 וַיֹּאמֶר and where is he? (or, where is he *then*?) 1 Sam. 26, 22 וַיִּעַבְר so let one of the young men come near. 2 Sam. 18, 22 וַיִּהְיֶה כִּי well, come what may. 2 Ki. 4, 41 וַיִּקְחוּ fetch meal then! 7, 13. 2 Chr. 18, 12 וַיִּהְיֶה so let thy word, I pray, be like one of theirs (1 Ki. 22, 13 וַיִּהְיֶה only). Isa. 47, 9 וַיִּבְאֵנָה (ו. 11 וַיִּבְאֵנָה). Ps. 4, 4 וַדַּעְתִּי know then. Cf. Il. xxiii. 75 $\text{καὶ μοι δὸς δὲν χεῖρα}$.

Upon this view *ἄνδρες τε θεοί τε* literally means 'there men, there gods,' i. e. both together = 'both men and gods.' And the theory derives a striking confirmation from Latin, where we are in fact able to watch the transition from the demonstrative to the copulative signification taking place beneath our eyes. *Tum* unquestionably means *then*: but in such a sentence as '*tum homines, tum equi aderant*' (the structure of which exactly resembles that of *ἄνδρες τε θεοί τε*) we see it possessing virtually a copulative force,—literally '*then men, then horses were there,*' i. e. they were both there together = '*both horses and men were there.*'

Without assuming that the Hebrew ו had once a distinctly demonstrative force, it does not appear possible to explain or account for the phenomena which its use actually presents. Starting from a meaning not stronger than that of our modern *and*, we do not readily perceive how such a weak word as ו must then have been, could ever stand in the emphatic positions it really occupies: starting on the other hand with a *demonstrative* signification, we at once comprehend, even without the aid of the Aryan analogies, and especially, because best attested, the Latin *tum*, by what steps this might become merely copulative. If the latter view be correct, *three* different modes present themselves in which it is employed; the first, comprising those cases in which the stronger and more decided sense is still evidently retained; the second (the *waw conv.* generally, but more particularly with the *perfect*), comprising those in which the earlier meaning has to be assumed (see p. 141) in order to explain the usage, but where the conscious recollection of it was probably as much forgotten in practice by the ancient Hebrew as it is disregarded by the modern reader in translation; the third, comprising the instances in which its force is equivalent to that of the copulative conjunction—'the heavens, *then* the earth,' being identical with 'the heavens *and* the earth.' The Arabic language possesses two forms of the copulative, ف *fa* as well as و *wa*: the latter being the *mere* copulative, the former carrying the stronger meaning *then, so, oὖν* etc., and being employed generally in all those cases which correspond to the *first* class just mentioned. It lies near to conjecture that both *wa* and *fa* (cf. the Heb. וּ) are but modifications of the same original labial stem, that in Arabic the two words once existed side by side as by-forms, but that, in process

of time, a differentiation was effected, in consequence of which *fa* was reserved for emphatic occasions, while in Hebrew *fa* as such fell out of use, and the single form *wa* had to do double duty. And that a demonstrative signification is not foreign to the syllable *fa*, is plain from the adverbs פֹּה *here*, אֵיפֹה *where?* (formed from פֹּה, like אֵי-יָוָה from יָוָה), אָפֹ, or אָפֹא *then, so, ḏḥ*. Upon the whole, then, we seem fully justified in assigning a *demonstrative* origin to the Semitic ו: the conclusion suggested, if not necessitated, by the usages of Hebrew syntax receiving independent confirmation from the analogies offered by the Aryan family of speech.

123. Accordingly, ו is met with before the verb (a) when the sentence has commenced with the *casus pendens*, i. e. where, the logical subject or object being prefixed, the place which they would ordinarily occupy is filled grammatically by either a suffix or a fresh substantive.


Thus Ex. 4, 21 ועשיתם all the signs which etc., *thou shalt do them* (§ 119 β: so 12, 44 וּמַלְאָתָהּ אֹתוֹ 2 Sam. 14, 10 the man that speaketh unto thee והבאתו אלי *bring him unto me*. 2 Chr. 19, 10). 9, 19 all the men who are found in the field ויֵרֵד עֲלֵיהֶם the hail *shall come down* upon them. 21, 13 ושמתי after אשר *whoso* (so Judg. 1, 12). Lev. 26, 36. Num. 10, 32^b. 14, 31 והבאתי אתם ... וטפכם. 17, 3. Isa. 56, 6 f. 65, 7. Jer. 27, 11. Ezek. 17, 19. Prov. 9, 16 (*freq.* cf. וישבה *v.* 14: *v.* 4 the construction is different, § 12).

Ex. 12, 15 every one eating leavened bread ונכרתה ונפש ההוא that soul *shall be cut off*: so 31, 14^b and often; and similarly Deut. 17, 12. 18, 20. Jer. 23, 34.

Even the direct predicate may be thus introduced, though usually only when it is separated from its subject by several intervening words: Ex. 30, 33. 38. Num. 24, 24. 1 Sam. 25, 27 ונתנה ... הַפְּרָכָה. 2 Ki. 11, 7. Isa. 9, 4 for every boot of him that trampeth etc. ... וְהִיתָה *it shall*

be for burning; and in a freq. sense, 44, 12 ופעל¹ (observe the following יצרהו). Jer. 51, 58^b. 2 Chr. 13, 9: 1 Sam. 17, 20 וְהָרַעַי . . . וְהַחִיל, if the text be correct, would also belong here.

(β) Very frequently after various time-determinations:— Gen. 3, 5 in the day of your eating from it, וּנְבַקְחָהּ your eyes will be opened. Ex. 16, 6 עֶרֶב וַיִּדְעֶתֶם at even—then ye will know. 7. 32, 34^b. Num. 10, 10. 18, 30^b. Deut. 4, 30. 2 Sam. 7, 14. 15, 10. 1 Ki. 13, 31 when I die, וַיִּקְבְּרֶתֶם ye shall bury me by the man of God. 14, 12. Ezek. 24, 24^b. 33, 18 וּמַח (19 the impf.): after the phrase הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים 1 Sam. 2, 31 behold days are coming וַיִּגְדַּעְתִּי and I will cut off thy seed. 2 Ki. 20, 17 (Isa. 39, 6). Amos 4, 2. 8, 11. 9, 13, and often in Jeremiah (the expression does not occur elsewhere): after עוֹד מְעַט, as Ex. 17, 4 a little while וַיִּסְקְלֵנִי and they will stone me. Isa. 10, 25. 29, 17. Jer. 51, 33 (וַיִּבְאֶה, § 112. 5) etc.; cf. Isa. 16, 14. 18, 5 וּבִרְתָּ 21, 16. Prov. 6, 10 f.² And involving a question (cf. § 119 γ), 1 Sam. 24, 20^a. Ezek. 15, 5^b וְנַעֲשֶׂה shall it be yet made into any work? Compare also Prov. 24, 27 וַבְּנִיתָ afterwards, and (or then) thou shalt build thy house (cf.

¹ Unless, as the harshness of the present text itself suggests, we suppose that a verb has dropped out at the beginning of the verse: LXX insert ἄφυσεν, Pesh. . Delitzsch proposes הָדַר, Cheyne (Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah, 1868) still better הָחַר, which might easily drop out from similarity with the preceding יָחַר. Another suggestion would be יָחַר, as in Prov. 27, 17, or, if the jussive form be objected to, יָחַר or יָחַר: in this case the tense would accord better with the two verbs following; we should obtain for 12^a three frequentatives, which naturally go together (1. 12^b, § 114 β).

² 2 Chr. 10, 5 we have the imperative יָשׁוּבוּ after יָזַר: but in 1 Ki. 12, 5 לָנוּ is added before יָזַר, which LXX read likewise in 2 Chr.

the impf., Gen. 18, 5. 24, 55 al.): Ps. 141, 6 is probably only an extreme instance of the same construction.

And without any verb following:—Isa. 17, 14. Ps. 37, 10.

In a frequentative signification:—Gen. 31, 8 וילדו *then they used to bear*. Ex. 1, 19^b before etc. וילדו *they bear*. Num. 9, 19. 1 Sam. 2, 13 when any one sacrificed זָבַח the young man *used to come* (cf. יקח, יעשו 14). 15 LXX excellently πρὶν θυμιαθῆναι τὸ στέαρ ἤρχετο τὸ παιδάριον καὶ ἔλεγε.

(γ) After other words, as וַתִּרְם Isa. 66, 7^b (7^a, without וְ), the instantaneous perfect, § 136 γ); יָעַן, 1 Ki. 20, 28 because they have said . . . וַנְתַתִּי I will give etc. 42. Isa. 3, 16 f. 37, 29 וַנְתַתִּי. Jer. 7, 13 f.; כִּי *since or because*, Gen. 29, 15; עָקַב, Num. 14, 24; תַּחַת, Isa. 60, 15. 2 Ki. 22, 17 וַנְצַתָּה (in 2 Chr. 34, 25 וַתִּתְּךָ—probably corrupt, as LXX both there and *v.* 21 use ἐκαίω: if retained, וַתִּתְּךָ, see § 127, will still introduce the apodosis, but will indicate that the speaker viewed the outpouring as *having already* (ideally or really) *commenced*); Dan. 8, 25. Ps. 25, 11 for thy name's sake וְסַלַּחְתָּ *so pardon or pardon then* (§ 119 δ) mine iniquity! and constantly in introducing the apodosis after כִּי and אַם, Deut. 6, 21. 13, 15. 22, 2. 21 etc.: see Chap. XI, §§ 136–138.

Obs. In all these cases the impf. alone might have been used, the only advantage of the pf. with וְ being that it marks the apodosis more distinctly, and by separating the initial words (the subject or protasis) from those which follow renders them more emphatic. Frequently, indeed, we meet with the two forms in close proximity to each other: see Gen. 44, 9 and 10. Judg. 8, 7 and 9; cf. also Gen. 4, 15 with Ex. 12, 15. Num. 19, 11; Gen. 40, 13 with Isa. 21, 16.

Where a more special emphasis is desired, a different method is commonly employed: the subject is *reinforced* by the personal pronoun. A few examples will suffice: Gen. 3, 12. 15, 4 but one that shall come forth out of thine own bowels הוּא יִרְשֶׁךָ *he shall be thine heir*. 24, 7 Yahweh, the God of heaven, who took me etc. הוּא יִשְׁלַח

he shall send his angel etc. 42, 6. 44, 17 (cf. 9, just cited). Ex. 12, 16^b only what is eaten etc. הוּא יֵעָשֶׂה *that* may be done of you. Isa. 34, 16^b. 38, 19. 47, 10 הוּא. 59, 16^b. 63, 5^b. (The same *principle* in oblique cases, Lev. 25, 44 מִן; Deut. 13, 1. Judg. 11, 24. Isa. 8, 13 אַחַד; Ezek. 18, 24. 27, 21. 33, 13^b ב; Lev. 7, 8. 9. 14. 21, 3 ל; 2 Sam. 6, 22 עַם. Cf. Deut. 14, 6. 20, 20. 1 Sam. 15, 9^b.)

124. If the ׀ becomes separated from the verb, the latter naturally appears in the impf.: this, however, is comparatively a rare occurrence¹.

After הוּן or הִנֵּה Ex. 8, 22 וְלֹא׀ will they not stone us? (where הִלֵּא׀ might have been expected). 1 Sam. 9, 7 וּמָה׀; Gen. 2, 4^b-5^a. Ex. 25, 9 וּבֹן׀ . . . בְּכֹל׀, cf. Num. 9, 17 (freq.); Lev. 7, 16 on the morrow, *then* etc. Josh. 3, 3 (but no ׀ appears in the similar injunction 8^b). 1 Ki. 8, 32 וּאֲתָה׀ 34. 36. 39 (omitted 43). Isa. 8, 7 וּלְכֹן׀ (after כִּי׀). 57, 12 וְלֹא׀ (after וְאֵת׀: cf. Num. 35, 6. 3, 46 f.). 65, 24 וְאֲנִי׀ (after טָרַם׀, and also a partcp. with עוֹר׀). Jer. 7, 32 וְלֹא׀. Ezek. 5, 11 וְגַם׀ אֲנִי׀ 16, 43 (cf. 23, 35); Amos 5, 22. Zech. 3, 7 וְגַם׀ אֲתָה׀ (Hitz.). Ps. 115, 7 (different from 5 f.). Job 20, 18^b וְלֹא׀ 23, 12 וְלֹא׀ אֲמִישׁ׀ 25, 5. 31, 14 וּמָה׀. See also § 136 a *Obs.*

The ׀ is followed by a *perfect*, Ruth 4, 5 thou *will have* purchased (but for יִמְאַת׀ should we not read יָאֵת׀, as in *v.* 10?); and by a *participle*, Jon. 3, 4. Hag. 2, 6—both after עוֹר׀.

125. Sometimes further, though still more rarely, we have ׀ closely joined to the *imperfect*:—Ex. 12, 3 in the tenth day of the month וַיִּקְרָח׀. Num. 16, 5 in the morning וַיִּרְע׀ Yahweh will shew. 1 Sam. 30, 22^b. Isa. 19, 20 וַיִּשְׁלַח׀ 43, 4 וְאֲתָן׀. Jer. 8, 1 Kt. 13, 10 וַיְהִי׀ *let it be*, then, as this girdle (the jussive implying the *abandonment* of the nation,

¹ Nearly all the instances are cited.

that it may follow freely its course of ruin). Ezek. 12, 12
 בַּעֲלֻטָּהּ וַיֵּצֵא. 31, 11. 33, 31. Hos. 10, 10 באֹתֵי וְאִסְרָם. Ps.
 69, 33 וַיְהִי. 91, 14 (unless כִּי = *for*). Job 15, 17 that which
 I have seen, וְאִם־פָּרַהּ let me tell it.

Obs. Compare the cases in which the predicate or apodosis *without a verb* is introduced in the same way:—Gen. 40, 9. 16 בַּהֲלוּמִי וְהִנֵּה. 2 Sam. 15, 34 thy father's slave, וְאֲנִי כֹאן I was *that* before; but now, וְאֲנִי עִבְדְךָ now I am thine! 23, 3 f. *when one ruleth* over men, *when a just one ruleth* in the fear of God, וְכֹאן then is it like the shining of the morn at sunrise. Isa. 34, 12 (an extreme case) her nobles . . . וְאֵין שָׁם there is none there that etc. Ezek. 1, 18 וּגְבַהּ. Job 4, 6^b (see Del.). 36, 26^b. Prov. 10, 25^a when a tempest passes by וְאֵין רֶשַׁע then the wicked is not. 1 Chr. 28, 21. Gen. 20, 16^b. Cf. too 2 Sam. 22, 41 (which differs from Ps. 18, 41 exactly as Prov. 23, 24^b Kt. does from Qri): the misplacement of ו in one of the two texts would be parallel to that which we are almost obliged to assume Ps. 16, 3.

126. A special case of this use of the perfect with *waw conv.* is when it is preceded by a *participle*, which is then often introduced by הִנֵּה.

Thus with הִנֵּה:—1 Ki. 20, 36 וְהִפְךָ . . . הִנֵּךְ הַלֵּךְ behold thou art going from me and a lion will smite thee (= *as* thou goest from me, a lion *will* etc.). Judg. 7, 17. 9, 33 (*as* he comes out, thou shalt etc.: Vulg. excellently *illo autem egrediente . . . fac ei quod potueris*). Ex. 8, 25. 1 Sam. 14, 8–10. Gen. 24, 13 f. (a *wish* or *hope*, § 119 δ).

Without הִנֵּה:—1 Ki. 2, 18, 11 f. 14. 2 Ki. 7, 9 וְאִנְחֵנוּ וְיִמְצָאֵנוּ and if we are silent and wait (pf. as § 117) iniquity will find us out (*si tacuerimus*, Vulg.). Prov. 29, 9, cf. v. 21 and 20, 21 (! separated from the verb); of past time, 1 Sam. 2, 13 (freq.: p. 180).

The same use of the partcp. appears likewise with the impf. alone in apodosis:—

Josh. 2, 18 behold *as* (or *when*) *we come* אָתָּה תִּקְוֹת הַיָּם

תִּקְשְׁרֵי thou shalt bind this thread on to the window (ingredientibus nobis). Gen. 50, 5. Ex. 3, 13 behold אֲנֹכִי וְאֶמְרָתִי בֹא if I go and say (§ 117) . . . , and they say, What is his name? (here comes the apodosis) *what* shall I say to them? cf. 34, 10. Num. 24, 14. 1 Sam. 16, 15 f. ; and with an imperative or participle in the apodosis, Gen. 49, 29. Ex. 9, 17 f.

127. Similarly, when the reference is to what is past or certain rather than to what is future or indefinite we find the predicate or the apodosis introduced by ׀, though not with nearly the same frequency as by the perf. and *waw conv.*¹

(a) With subject prefixed:—Gen. 22, 24. 30, 30 for the little that thou hadst before I came, וַיִּפְרֹץ *it* hath increased etc. Ex. 9, 21. 38, 24. Num. 14, 36 f. וַיִּמְתּוּ (with repetition of the subject הַחַיִּים). 1 Sam. 14, 19 וַיִּלֶךְ. 17, 24. 2 Sam. 19, 41 Kt. 21, 16. 1 Ki. 11, 26. 2 Ki. 2, 14^b. perhaps Isa. 9, 11. Jer. 44, 25. Ps. 107, 13 (the subject of וַיִּזְעֲקוּ being יוֹשְׁבֵי הַשֶּׁךְ). 2 Chr. 25, 13.

With object prefixed:—2 Sam. 4, 10 for he that told me saying, Saul is dead, וַאֲחָזָה בּוֹ I took hold of him etc. 1 Ki. 9, 20 f. וַיַּעֲלֵם (cf. 2 Chr. 8, 7 f.). 12, 17. 15, 13 וְגַם אֵת וְחֹרְתִי 2 Ki. 16, 14 (אֵת). 25, 22. Jer. 6, 19 וַיִּמְאַסּוּ בָהּ 28, 8. 33, 24 וַיִּמְאַסּוּ בָהּ

(β) After time-determinations:—after ב Gen. 22, 4 on the third day וַיִּשָּׂא Abraham lifted up his eyes (= *it was* on the third day *that* Abraham lifted up his eyes: cf. 1 Chr. 16, 7, where אֵז is similarly introduced). Deut. 9, 23. Num. 7, 89. 12, 12. Judg. 11, 16. 1 Sam. 21, 6 וַיִּהְיוּ 2 Ki. 25, 3 = Jer. 52, 6. Isa. 6, 1. Ezek. 20, 5. Ps. 138, 3.

¹ Nearly all the instances are cited.

1 Chr. 21, 28. 2 Chr. 13, 1 (2 Ki. 15, 1 מלך only). 28, 22; בטרם, Gen. 37, 18; כ, Gen. 27, 34. 1 Sam. 4, 20. 17, 57. Hos. 13, 6. Esth. 5, 9^b; כאשר, Ex. 16, 34. 1 Sam. 6, 6. 12, 8; כמו, Gen. 19, 15; כי when, Josh. 22, 7. Hos. 11, 1. Ps. 50, 18; מועת, 2 Chr. 25, 27; Dan. 1, 18.

(γ) After other words:—1 Sam. 15, 23 because thou hast rejected Yahweh וַיִּמְאַסֶּךָ he has rejected thee. Hos. 4, 6. 2 Chr. 24, 20^b. 34, 25 (see § 123 γ); 1 Ki. 10, 9. Isa. 45, 4 (after למען). 48, 5 (after מרעתי, v. 4; cf. Num. 14, 16 after . . . מבולתי). Deut. 4, 37 ויוציאך (after כי תחת: see the parallelism of thought, 7, 8). Ezek. 16, 47. Ps. 59, 16 (after אם). Job 36, 7¹. 1 Chr. 28, 5; Dan. 1, 20².

128. When the verb no longer stands at the beginning of the clause, the pf. tense reappears, but usually, as in

¹ But 19, 18 will be most safely and naturally explained by § 54 or 84, and for 30, 26 see p. 83 note: it is too precarious to suppose that the ך should mark here, as it marks nowhere else, the apodosis to a hypothetical voluntative, §§ 150-152.

In the Hebrew translation of the New Testament, published by the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (London, 1867), the construction with ך is employed in answer to כאשר etc. with a frequency and freedom quite without precedent in any of the Old Testament historians; in the more recent editions, however (the latest, 1880), revised by Professor Delitzsch for the British and Foreign Bible Society, this and many other faults of style have been corrected. For παραγεγόμενοι δὲ (or ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεγένοντο) εἶπον, classical Hebrew says, either ויבואו ויאמרו (§ 149 n.), or if the subordinate clause calls for greater prominence ויהי כבואם ויאמרו. It does not say ויבואם ויאמרו, though this type, of course, is met with occasionally, but in the best authors the introductory ו is usually avoided. And even ויבואם אמרו is only common as a later idiom; the earlier writers, as a rule (comp. p. 108 n.), prefer ויאמרו כבואם, or prefix ויהי.

² Cf. 1 Sam. 20, 23. 2 Ki. 22, 18^b-19.

the parallel case § 124, the $\dot{\text{ל}}$ is then altogether dispensed with:—Gen. 19, 4, so 2 Ki. 6, 32 (והוא אמר); Judg. 11, 26 while Israel dwelt in Heshbon etc. three hundred years $\text{לֹא הִצַּלְתֶּם וַיִּמְרוּעַ לֹא הִצַּלְתֶּם}$ *pray* why did you not deliver them during that time? Isa. 48, 7 before to-day, וְלֹא שִׁמְעֶתֶם thou hast not heard them. Dan. 10, 4. 9^b. 2 Chr. 5, 13. 7, 1.

129. In the few isolated cases where the *perfect* with $\dot{\text{ל}}$ occurs thus in relation to the past or present, it is either frequentative (§ 123 β), or else wholly exceptional:—Ex. 36, 38. 2 Ki. 11, 1 Kt. Isa. 37, 26 ויצרתיה (cf. 48, 7). Jer. 40, 3^b. Ezek. 16, 19.

CHAPTER IX.

The Perfect and Imperfect with Weak Waw.

130. It will appear to the reader almost ludicrous to devote a separate chapter to the consideration of what will seem to be such an elementary phenomenon of language as the union of either the perfect or the imperfect with the simple conjunction ׀. Yet, common and constant as this union is in the case of the other Semitic languages, in Hebrew, especially so far as the *perfect* is concerned, it is such a rare and isolated occurrence as both to invite and demand a somewhat minute investigation.

131. Although in Hebrew the continuation of a historical narrative is most usually expressed by the imperf. with ׀, we find, occasionally in the earlier books of the Old Testament, and with increasing frequency in the later ones, that this idiom, which is so peculiarly and distinctively a creation of the Hebrew language, has been replaced by the *perfect* with the simple or weak *waw*, ׀. Generally, indeed, as we saw in the last chapter, and invariably when the verb to which the perfect is annexed is a bare imperfect, §§ 113. 4, 120, the *waw* prefixed to the perfect is conversive, and the sense consequently frequen-

tative: but a certain number of passages exist in which this signification is out of place; in these, therefore, we are compelled to suppose that the *waw* is the *mere* copulative, and that it no longer exerts over the following verb that strong and peculiar modifying influence which we term *conversive*. There are two principal cases in which the perfect with weak *waw* is thus met with. The feature common to them both is this—that the idiom employed, instead of representing a given event as *arising out of*, or *being a continuation of*, some previous occurrence (in the manner of the idiom with $\cdot\dot{\text{ל}}$), represents it as standing on an independent ground of its own, as connected indeed with what precedes, but only externally and superficially, without any inner bond of union existing between them: in a word, it causes the narrative to advance not by development but by *accretion*. Accordingly we find it used (1) upon occasions when a writer wishes to place two facts in *co-ordination* with one another, to exhibit the second as simultaneous with the first rather than as succeeding it; for instance, in the conjunction of two synonymous or similar ideas: and (2), chiefly in the later books, when the language was allowing itself gradually to acquiesce in and adopt the mode of speech customary in the Aramaic dialects (Chaldee and Syriac), in which the rival construction with $\cdot\dot{\text{ל}}$, at least in historical times, was never employed.

132. Thus (1) Gen. 31, 7¹ והחלה בתל בי והחלה. Num. 21, 15 וְנִשְׁעַן . . . נָטָה. 23, 19² (coupling a parallel term to אָמַר under הִ). Deut. 2, 30. 33, 2. 20. Josh. 9, 12 (cf. 5, where

¹ This may possibly be freq.: for pf. התל, cf. § 114 a.

² On v. 20 וּבֹרַךְ, see § 148 end: on 24, 17 וְקָם (future), § 113. 1.

ו is omitted). Judg. 5, 26¹. 1 Sam. 12, 2 זקנתי ושבתתי *am old and grey-headed*. 1 Ki. 8, 47^b. 20, 27. Isa. 1, 2 גדלתי ורוממתי. 8, 2, 11 וישח. 5, 14^a. 8, 8 ועבר (שטף § 14 γ). 19, 6 וחרבו. 13. 14. 24, 6^b (cf. the ἀσύνδετα, *vv.* 5. 7 f.). 29, 20. 34, 14^b. 15. 37, 25. 27 וַיִּבְשׂוּ (2 Ki. 19, 26 וַיִּבְשׂוּ). 38, 12. 40, 12. 41, 4. 43, 12 (as in 1, 2, observe there is no change of tone). 44, 8. 55, 10 (*might* be conv.: see 6, 11 f.). 11. 63, 10. Joel 1, 7.

Omitting instances in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, we have several from the Psalms: 20, 9^a (9^b וַיִּבְשׂוּ, more euphonious than the pf., and in sharper contrast to 9^a). 27, 2. 34, 11. 37, 14. 38, 9. 20². 66, 14. 86³, 13. 17. 131, 2; perhaps also 22, 6. 15. 28, 7. 34³, 5. 6. 35, 15. 76, 9. 135³, 10. 12. 148³, 5. Add further, Prov. 22, 3. Job 16, 15. 18, 11. 29, 21^a. Lam. 2, 22. 3, 42. And after an impf. with וַיִּבְשׂוּ, Gen. 49, 23. Isa. 9, 19. Hab. 1, 11.

Obs. Sometimes, however, in cases of this sort, the second verb is annexed by means of וַיִּבְשׂוּ: cf. Ex. 31, 17. Isa. 57, 11. Ps. 7, 16. 16, 8. 119, 73 (cf. Job 10, 8).

133. (2) Such are the only instances which seem capable of being reduced to a definite rule. Of the instances which remain, those which occur in the later books may be fairly regarded as attributable to the influence of Aramaic usage: but for the few which are met with in the

¹ In this Song (except once, *v.* 28), as in the earlier one of Exod. 15, וַיִּבְשׂוּ appears to be intentionally avoided: וַיִּבְשׂוּ, or the bare impf. (§ 27 a), suit better the impassioned style of both.

² Here, though the tone is on the ultima, the *waw* is not necessarily conversive: in verbs וַיִּבְשׂוּ, even where no *waw conversive* is prefixed, the tone is sometimes *milra'*, as Ps. 69, 5 וַיִּבְשׂוּ. See Kalisch, ii. § lxii. 1 (b).

³ Probably late.

earlier books (Genesis—2 Samuel, Amos, Isaiah), it is more than doubtful whether such an explanation is admissible. For, independently of the question of date, it is hardly credible that had the Aramaic influence existed it should only have made itself felt on such *exceedingly rare* occasions in all the historical books from Genesis to Samuel: in the later portions of the Old Testament, it will be remembered, it shews itself much more frequently. Why, upon these rare occasions, the construction observed uniformly elsewhere (וַיֹּאמֶר רוּד, or the alternating וּרְדוּד אִמֵּר) was abandoned must, I think, remain an insoluble enigma: all that can be said is that in some few of the instances the novel construction introduces the mention of a fact not perhaps meant to be *immediately* connected with the previous narrative, while in others, by no longer representing the idea conveyed by the verb as part of a continuous series, it may allow it greater prominence and emphasis than it would otherwise have received. Even so, however, most would yet remain unexplained: and though the latter supposition would be suitable enough in the case of וַנִּפְּל, וַנַּעַל, for example, still, if such were felt to be the force of the idiom, it is remarkable that advantage should not have been taken of it more frequently. The instances which occur must simply be recorded as *isolated irregularities*, of which no entirely adequate explanation can be offered.

Gen. 15, 6 וְהֵאֱמָן. 21, 25 וְהוֹכַח. 28, 6. 38, 5 וְהָיָה (a uniquely-worded sentence, which can scarcely be before us in its original form: LXX αὐτῆ points to הָיָה): cf. 1 Sam. 23, 15. 24. 2 Chr. 10, 2). Ex. 5, 16. 36, 38. 38, 28. 39, 3. Judg. 3, 23 וַנַּעַל. 7, 13 וַנִּפְּל. 16, 18 (*might* be freq.: cf. 6, 3). 1 Sam. 1, 12 וְהָיָה. 3, 13 וְהִנְדַּתִּי. 4, 19. 10, 9 וְהָיָה.

17, 38 ונתן 48 והיה 25, 20 והיה. 2 Sam. 6, 16. 7, 9^b? 11^b והגיד. 13, 18 ונעל again. 16, 5. 23, 20. 1 Ki. 3, 11^b. 6, 32. 35. 11, 10. 12, 32. 13, 3 ונתן. 14, 27. 20, 21. 21, 12¹. Isa. 9, 7. 22, 14. 28, 26²? 38, 15 ('both'). Amos 7, 2. 4^b.

In 2 Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel³, Chronicles, this usage becomes somewhat more frequent, but the reader may there collect examples for himself. The impf. and ׀, however, continues still to be distinctly the predominant construction: in Ezra, for example, the pf. with ׀ occurs only 3, 10. 6, 22. 8, 30. 36. 9, 2 (9, 6. 13, § 132), in Nehemiah only 9, 7 f. 10, 33. 12, 39. 13, 1. 30, and in Esther 2, 14. 3, 12. 8, 15. 9, 23. 24. 25? 27; though, in the last-named book, it is possible that the preference for the other form may be a feature due not to the natural usage of the author, but to a studied imitation of the earlier historical style. Similarly in Daniel (excluding of

¹ In some passages where, at first sight, the use of the perfect seems anomalous, it must be explained in a frequentative sense, § 120: this is certainly the case in Ex. 36, 29 f. (notice יהיו). 1 Sam. 2, 22. 16, 14^b (observe the partcp. *v.* 15). 27, 9 (cf. יהיה). 2 Sam. 19, 18 f. 20, 12 (continuation of הבה, § 117); probably also in the following, Gen. 34, 5. 37, 3 (cf. 1 Sam. 2, 19). Num. 10, 17 f. 21 f. 25. 21, 20 ונסקפה (pf. § 103: *used to look* or *looketh*, cf. § 120 *Obs.*). 1 Sam. 5, 7. 17, 34 f. (cf. p. 147). 24, 11. 2 Sam. 16, 13 ונעפר. Isa. 40, 6 (ואמר), cf. 57, 14: but LXX. Vulg. (ואמר). Ps. 26, 3^b (cf. 4^b. 5^b). 80, 13 (cf. 14). But Ex. 36, 1 ונעשה may well be future (continuation of 35, 30 ff.)

² 'mit der einfachen Copula, weil die Unterweisung dem Thun des Landmanns vorangeht, also in der Zeit zurück geschritten wird,' Hitz. Still, a *general* course of dealing is described: in the context frequentative forms abound (the parallel clause has יורנו); and as Isaiah evidently desires his hearers to be led by the contemplation of certain facts (*v.* 24 f.) to reflect upon their cause, it is natural that these should have been mentioned first.

³ The list given by Smend, on 40, 36, is far from exhaustive.

course the Chaldee portion, from 2, 4^b-7, 28), ׀ is constantly employed, though in chs. 8-12 a few instances of the perfect are met with¹. There is only one book in the Old Testament in which this state of things is reversed, and the perfect with simple *waw* obtains a marked and indeed almost exclusive preponderance. In the whole of Qohéleth ׀ occurs not more than *three* times, 1, 17. 4, 1. 7, whereas the other construction is of repeated occurrence². This circumstance, estimated in the light of what is *uniformly* observable in other parts of the Old Testament, is of itself, though naturally it does not stand alone, a strong indication of the date at which that book must

¹ Viz., 8, 7. 10, 7. 12, 5 (but cf. 8, 2. 3. 10, 5. 8); 10, 1. 14. In 8, 4^b we have evidently two frequentatives, cf. יַעֲמֹד; v. 12 the perfects follow הַשֵּׁלַךְ (§ 113. 2, 3); and v. 11. 27. 9, 5 (cf. 1 Ki. 8, 47). 10, 15 are to be explained by § 132.

² Chiefly in chs. 2. 3, 22. 4, 1. 7. 8, 17. 9, 16—just in the narrative of successive experiences and resolutions, where ׀ might have been expected (see Deut. 1-3. Neh. 2. 13. Ps. 55, 7. 77, 11: cf. 78, 59. 65. 106, 23. Ezek. 20), and where the connexion was so strongly felt by our translators that in 13 out of 21 cases in 1st pers. they render by *so, then* etc., which elsewhere, § 74, is used by them for ׀. The anonymous author of a *Treatise on the Authorship of Ecclesiastes* (London, 1880) deserves great credit for his industry and independence; but, though able to shew that many of its linguistic peculiarities may be paralleled by *isolated* passages in earlier writings, he fails to account for their co-existence and repetition: a method which would prove that the style of Esther did not differ from that of Genesis cannot be a sound one. His contention that the *bare* pf. may have a freq. sense (pp. 192-4, 220) cannot certainly be sustained: the fact that it may be used to *narrate* recurrent events (grouping them as one) is no more a proof that it *expresses* their recurrency than the use of the aorist in, e. g. Hdt. 5, 92, 21 (τοιούτος δὴ τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων ἐστέρησέ) can shew that it bears there the sense of the impf.

have been composed. In the Song of Songs ׀ occurs but twice, 6, 1: in this book, however, there is very little occasion for *either* form being used, and in fact the perfect with *waw* occurs only twice likewise (2, 3. 10), a circumstance too slight to base an argument upon.

134. Exactly as the perfect with weak *waw* is in Hebrew superseded, and in fact almost banished from the language, by the imperfect with strong *waw*, so the impf. with weak *waw*, although not quite to the same extent, is yet in the great majority of cases superseded by the pf. with strong *waw*. Allusion has been already made (§ 116) to the rarity with which two imperfects are found united by ׀, after conjunctions like ׀ or ׀: although it is not so uncommon to find them coupled in this way when they bear a frequentative, future, or jussive sense, yet the other construction is still decidedly preferred, and the occurrence of *two* imperfects must even then, comparatively speaking, be termed exceptional. In general the imperfect is only repeated when it is desired to lay some particular stress on the verb, or, as before, in order to combine synonyms: the repetition is also more frequent in the poetical than in the historical books. Examples in a future or jussive sense:—Gen. 1, 9. 26. 9, 27. 17, 2. 22, 17. 27, 29. 31. Ex. 24, 7. 26, 24. Num. 14, 12. 21, 27. Deut. 17, 13 (= 19, 20. 21, 21). 30, 12 f. Josh. 7, 3, cf. 9. Judg. 7, 3. 13, 8 al.; Isa. 41, 11. 15. 22. 42, 6. 14. 21. 23. 44, 7. 45, 24. 25. 46, 4. 5. 47, 11. 49, 8 etc. As a frequentative, however, this repetition of an imperfect is considerably rarer:—Ex. 23, 8 (= Deut. 16, 19). Isa. 40, 30. 44, 16 f. 46, 6 f. 59, 7. Ps. 25, 9. 37, 40. 49, 9. 59, 5. 7. 73, 8. 83, 4. 97, 3. See also § 84.

CHAPTER X.

*The Participle*¹.

135. The participle is in form a noun, but one partaking at the same time of the nature of the verb, inasmuch as it declares not the fixed and settled embodiment of an attribute in an individual object, but the *continuous manifestation*, actively or passively, as the case may be, of the idea expressed by the root. It predicates, therefore, a *state*, either (actively) constituted directly and essentially by the action or actions necessary to produce it, or (passively) conceived as the enduring result of a particular act. עָשׂוֹק designates simply the possessor of the attribute of oppressiveness, whether shewing it at the moment of speaking or not: עוֹשֵׂק describes one who is actually exhibiting it; עָשׂוֹק one in whom a condition resulting from one or more definite acts is being experienced. So שׁוֹבֵן is a *dweller*, or *resident*, שׁוֹבֵן dwelling; אֶסִּיר a *prisoner* (the condition conceived generally), אֶסִּיר imprisoned (the condition conceived with reference to the action producing

¹ The aim of the present chapter is not to treat the syntax of the participle under all its aspects, but only in so far as it occupies a place, in its function as *predicate*, by the side of the two tenses.

it). Possessing thus a distinct verbal force, the participle admits of being used where neither of the two special 'tenses' would be suitable, in the frequently recurring cases, namely, where stress is to be laid on the *continuance* of the action described. In itself it expresses no difference of time, the nature of the 'tenses' not favouring, as in Greek, the growth of a separate form corresponding to each; and the period to which an action denoted by it is to be referred, is implied, not in the participle, but in the connexion in which it occurs. The Hebrew authors avail themselves of it very freely, but at the same time with such limitations and reserve that (as compared, e. g. with Syriac) it rarely fails of effect: its descriptive power is great; and if the narrative, strictly so called, of the O. T. owes much of its life and variety to the use of the bare imperfect (§§ 30, 31), many of the instances immediately following will shew to what an extent the truthful and animated representation of particular scenes is due to the appropriate use of the participle.

It is used accordingly—

(1) Of past time, whether independently to emphasize the duration of a given state—for instance, of a particular behaviour or frame of mind—or, with more immediate reference to the main narrative, to shew (if the expression may be allowed) the figures moving in the background: it is thus the form adopted commonly in 'circumstantial' clauses for the purpose of bringing before the eye the scene in which some fresh transaction is to be laid. Thus Gen. 13, 7 the Canaanite and the Perizzite **אָז יָשַׁב** was then *dwelling* in the land. 37, 7 and behold, **וַאֲנַחְנוּ מְאָלְמִים** we were *binding* sheaves in the field. 41, 1-3 (the progressive stages of a dream). 42, 23 that Joseph was *hearkening*

(i. e. understood). Deut. 4, 12. Judg. 7, 13. 9, 43. 14, 4 for he was *seeking* an occasion etc. 1 Sam. 1, 13. 9, 11 הם עלים *they were going up*, when they found. 13, 16. 2 Sam. 1, 6 and lo Saul על הניתו על נשען ἐρηγεδμένος. 12, 19 that his servants מתלחשים were *whispering*. 17, 17 (§ 120). 1 Ki. 1, 40. 22, 10. 12. 20 (*was saying* on this wise: cf. 3, 22. 26). Instances of *tableaux*: 2 Sam. 6, 14–16. 13, 34. 15, 18. 23. 30. 16, 5. Of the use of the participle in circumstantial clauses, sufficient examples will be found in §§ 159, 160, 169.

(2) Of present time similarly: Gen. 4, 10. 16, 8^b from Sarai my mistress בִּרְחַח אֲנִי am I *fleeing*. 37, 16 tell me רעים הם איפה where they are *shepherding*. Num. 11, 27 Eldad and Medad מתנבאים are *prophesying* in the camp. Judg. 17, 9 אנכי הולך. 18, 18^b. 1 Sam. 14, 11. Isa. 1, 7 your land, זרים אכלים אותה strangers are *devouring* it. 41, 17 מבקשים. Jer. 7, 17 f. 25, 31 נשפט היא. 37, 13. Ps. 3, 3. 4, 7. 42, 8. 45, 2. 56, 3. And in Deut. in accordance with the situation presupposed by that book, 4, 5–7, 1 whither *ye are going* to possess it: also 4, 1 אשר אנכי אשר אתכם מלמד which *I am teaching* you. 4, 40 which I מציד am commanding thee this day. 5, 1. 8, 5 etc.

When there is nothing to imply that the state denoted by the ptcp. extends beyond the moment of speaking, the force of the phrase is as nearly as possible that of the true English present²:—Judg. 9, 36 the shadow of the

¹ Lit. is *in a state of controversy*: cf. 2 Sam. 19, 10 נדון. Job 23, 7 נוכח, Ex. 2, 13 נצים, and the common נלהם; also נתנה Ezek. 14, 7.

² It is worth noticing that a similar principle appears to have determined the form by which present time is expressed in Greek: in the present tense, the stem is variously expanded and strengthened

mountains *thou seest* as men. 2 Sam. 18, 27. 1 Ki. 2, 16.
 20 אֲנֹכִי שֹׂאֲלֶתָּ. 22. 18, 11. 14. Jer. 1, 11. 13 al.

Obs. Less frequently, particularly in the earlier books, to denote not a continuous state, but a fact liable to *recur* (which, in past and present alike, is more properly expressed by the *impf.*, §§ 30-33): Gen. 39, 3. 6. 22 (contr. 1 Sam. 14, 47. 18, 5). 1 Ki. 3, 2 (8, 5 is different). 22, 44 and often מִן־בָּחִים. Esth. 2, 11. 13 בִּאֵה. 14. 3, 2.

It is used, however, in the pregnant delineation of a *fixed character*, for which, with such words as אֹהֶב, שׂוֹנֵא, יוֹדֵעַ, בּוֹשֵׁחַ, it is even better adapted than the *impf.*: Prov. 10, 5. 17 מֵהֵעַה. 11, 13. 15. 17. 12, 1. 10. 13, 3. 4. 24 etc. Jer. 17, 10 לֵב לִבָּא = καρδιογνώστης. Nah. 1, 2.

The *ptcp.*, it should be remembered, may be represented by the English 'present' in three separate cases, which need to be distinguished: 1. when it expresses real duration (Ps. 7, 12. 19, 2. 29, 5. 7); 2. when it is in apposition to a preceding *subst.* (18, 34 f. (that) *maketh*. 65, 7 f.); 3. when it denotes a general truth (37, 12. 21. 26). This last usage is a mark of the later period of the language: even Ps. 34, 8. 21. 23. 145, 15 f. 146, 7-9. 147, 6. 9. 11 will be felt to differ from Prov. 10, 5 etc. cited above; and the earlier Psalmists cast their descriptions of the Divine dealings into a different form.

(3) The *ptcp.* is used, lastly, of future time (the *fut. instans*), which it represents as already beginning: hence, if the event designated can only in fact occur after some interval, it asserts forcibly and suggestively the certainty of its approach. In the latter case, however, its use is (naturally) pretty much restricted to announcements of the Divine purpose; but even then, whether an imminent or still distant realization be what is intended, is not contained in the form employed, but remains for the event to disclose. When applied to the future, the *ptcp.* is very frequently strengthened by an introductory הִנֵּה.

for the purpose, most probably, of implying duration, as opposed to what is merely momentary (λαμβάνω, λείπω by the side of ἐ-λαβ-ον, ἐ-λιπ-ον). See Curtius, *The Greek Verb*, p. 10 (Engl. Tr.).

Gen. 6, 17 and I הִנְנִי מְבִיא behold *I am bringing* etc.; the same formula often: 15, 14 the nation which they shall serve הִנְנִי אֲנֹכִי I *am judging*. 17, 19 Sarah thy wife יִוֹלְדָה will bear thee a son. 18, 17. 19, 13 for we are *destroying* (are about to destroy) this place. 41, 25^b עֵשָׂה. 28^b. Ex. 9, 3 behold the hand of Yahweh הוֹיָה. 18. 10, 4. Deut. 1, 20. 25 which Yahweh thy God נֹתֵן is *giving* us; so constantly in this book: 4, 14 and often אתם עוֹבְרִים. 1 Sam. 3, 11. 12, 16 which Yahweh *is doing* before your eyes. 19, 11 מִחֵר אֶתָּה מוֹמֵת. 20, 36 which I *am about to* shoot. 2 Sam. 12, 23^b. 20, 21 מִשְׁלֵף (הנה). 1 Ki. 13, 2 הנה-בן נולד. 3 נקרא. 2 Ki. 2, 3. 7, 2^c. 22, 20; in the prophets continually: Isa. 3, 1. 5, 5. 7, 14 הרה ויולדת בן. 10, 23. 33. 13, 17. 26, 21 (Mic. 1, 3). 37, 7. 43, 19 הִנְנִי עֹשֶׂה etc. See also § 137.

Obs. 1. But the participle, after הנה, does not necessarily refer to the future: whether it does so or not in a particular case must be determined by a regard to the context, and to the signification borne by that particle. הנה introduces something specially arresting the attention; accordingly the ptcpl. following it may, when linked to a preceding narrative by ו, describe a scene in the past, as Judg. 9, 43. 11, 34. 1 Ki. 19, 5. Ezek. 47, 1; or it may describe an occurrence in the present, Judg. 9, 36. 1 Sam. 14, 33; in a passage such as Isa. 24, 1, however, there would be no motive for the combination, if the past were referred to.

Obs. 2. The copula must sometimes be conceived in a jussive or conditional sense: Isa. 12, 5 Kt. מִיְדַעַת ואת be *this* made known in all the earth, and with בָּרוּךְ and אָרוּר; in a real, or virtual, apodosis Jer. 2, 22 נִכְתָּם. Ps. 27, 3^b (§ 143). Job 23, 7 there an upright man *would be* disputing with him (§ 142), and after לו, § 145.

(4) As a rule the subject *precedes* the ptcpl., the opposite order being exceptional, and only adopted when a certain stress falls naturally on the idea conveyed by the verbal

form (for instance, in assigning a reason after כִּי): Gen. 18, 17 המכסה אני. Num. 11, 29 לי אתה. Ezek. 9, 8; Gen. 3, 5 כי יודע אלהים. 19, 13. 27, 46 אם (see also § 137). 30, 1. 41, 32. Judg. 2, 22. 8, 4. 19, 18. 1 Sam. 3, 9. 13 כי שפט אני. 19, 2. 23, 10. Isa. 36, 11 אנחנו. 48, 13 שואל אני. 52, 12. Jer. 1, 12. 3, 6. 38, 14 אני (of past time). 44, 29.

Obs. In many of these cases the subject is a pronoun: and in Aramaic, as is well known, this usage is extended much further, a regular *present tense* being formed by the union of the pronouns of the first and second persons with the participle into a single word. But in Hebrew the parts are quite distinct; and the predicate is able accordingly to receive a separate emphasis of its own, for which in this compound idiom there is no scope. On the same usage in the Mishnah, see Geiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischnah*, p. 40.

It is in order to reproduce as closely as possible the Aramaic form אֲמַרְנָא—אֲמַרְנָא being contracted from אֲמַרְנָא (Dan. 4, 4)—most probably used by Christ, that in Delitzsch's N.T. λέγω ὑμῖν (after ἀμην) is rendered by אֲמַרְנָא (which does not so occur in O.T.): see the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1856, p. 423, or the *Academy*, Nov. 1879, p. 395 (where S. John's ἀμην ἀμην is explained as due to the attempt to represent the phrase in Greek letters).

(5) Occasionally the idea of duration conveyed by the ptc. is brought into fuller prominence, and defined more precisely, by the addition of the *substantive verb*. Two cases may be distinguished, according, namely, as the state thus described is conceived implicitly in its relation to some other event, or stands upon an independent footing. Of the former, some four or five instances will be found in most of the earlier books: the latter is rarer. But altogether the more *frequent* use of the combination is characteristic of the later writers—in the decadence of a language, the older forms are felt to be insufficient, and a craving for greater distinctness manifests itself: the

rarer, however, its occurrence in the earlier books, the more carefully it deserves notice.

Gen. 4, 17. 37, 2 רָעָה הָיָה *was shepherding* (at the time when the events about to be described took place). 39, 22. 1 Sam. 2, 11 מְשַׁרְתָּ הָיָה. 7, 10. 18, 14. 29. 23, 26 נִחַפֵּן... וַיְהִי. 2 Sam. 3, 6. 8, 15. 19, 10. 1 Ki. 5, 1. 24. 12, 6. 20, 40 (let the student note instances in 2 Ki. for himself!). Jer. 26, 18. 20.

Some clear examples of the second usage are Gen. 1, 6 מְבַרְכִיל וַיְהִי *and let it be* (permanently) *dividing*. Ruth 2, 19. Num. 14, 33. Deut. 9, 7 from the day etc. until this place מְמַרְיִם הָיִיתֶם *ye have been rebelling*; so *vs.* 22. 24. 31, 27¹; 28, 29 וְהָיִיתָ מְמַשֵּׁשׁ *and thou shalt be groping* etc. Isa. 2, 2. 9, 15? 14, 2^b. 30, 20 and thine eyes *shall be beholding* thy teachers. 59, 2. Ps. 10, 14. 122, 2. With a *passive* ptc., 1 Ki. 13, 24. Nah. 3, 11. Jer. 14, 16. 18, 23. Ps. 73, 14 וַיְהִי תְלוּיִם. Josh. 10, 26 וַאֲהִי נִגּוּעַ.

Contrast examples from Nehemiah², 1, 4^b. 2, 13. 15. 3, 26. 4, 10. 5, 18 הָיָה נֹעֶשֶׂה. 6, 14^b. 19. 13, 5. 22. 26 : Est. 1, 22. 9, 21 with לְהִיּוֹת.

(6) As a rule, the subject to the ptc. is in Hebrew expressed separately: but scattered instances are met with in which (as in 3rd pers. of the verb, p. 8) this is not

¹ The idiom in these four passages may be attributed fairly to the desire for emphasis, which is evident: 2 Sam. 3, 17 מִבְּקָשִׁים הָיִיתָ is an early parallel, cf. also 7, 6. (Contr. Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchi Sermones*, pp. 27, 58.)

² But it does not appear to me correct to say here it 'nihil differre a verbo finito' (Ryssel, p. 59): it is used clearly with the intention of giving prominence to the idea of duration, though an earlier writer would not have done this so persistently, or confined himself so much to the same idiom. Comp. Mark 13, 25: Winer, § 45. 5.

the case. The subject to be supplied may be either indefinite, or definite—most commonly the former, except when the ptc. is introduced by הנה, the subject itself having been named immediately before. (1) Gen. 39, 22^a עשים¹. Ex. 5, 16 and bricks, לנו עשו, say they to us, Make ye. Isa. 21, 11 קרא one is calling. 24, 2 the lender בו פִּאֶשֶׁר נִשָּׂא בו as he to whom any one lendeth². 26, 3^b. 30, 24 which זָרָה one is sifting etc. 32, 12 סופדים. 33, 4^b יִשְׁקֶק. Jer. 33, 5 באים. 38, 23 מוציאים. Ezek. 8, 12 בי אמרים. 13, 7. Job 41, 18³. Neh. 6, 10^b כי באים. (2) with הנה Gen. 24, 30. 37, 15⁴ and a man found him והנה תעה בשדה. 41, 1. 1 Sam. 10, 11. 15, 12. 16, 11. 30, 3. 16. Isa. 29, 8. Ezek. 7, 10 al. הנה באה (cf. Ex. 7, 15. 8, 16 יוצא). 19, 13. Amos 7, 1; without הנה, Gen. 32, 7. Deut. 33, 3. 1 Sam. 6, 3. 17, 25. 20, 1. Isa. 33, 5^a שכן. 40, 19^b. Ps. 22, 29^b ומושל and he ruleth. 33, 5. 37, 26. 97, 10. Neh. 9, 3^b. 37^{b5}.

Obs. 1. It is sometimes uncertain whether the ptc. may have been conceived by the writer as an independent predicate, or in apposition to a subject previously named, or in his mind: Isa. 40, 29 (prob. the latter). Job 12, 17. 19–24.

¹ Expressed as vaguely as possible, in intentional contrast to 22^b, where (as Roorda, § 379, remarks) the use of היה allows an emphasis to the pronoun.

² A comparison of Deut. 24, 11 will make the construction clear.

³ (When) one approacheth him (cf. § 126) with the sword, it continueth (holdeth) not: so 2 Sam. 23, 3 (§ 125). הרב is the 'accusative of nearer limitation,' defining the manner in which the approach is made: cf. Mic. 7, 2 חרם. Ps. 64, 8 חץ (Ew. §§ 279^c, 283^a).

⁴ In accordance with the use of הנה in other cases, e.g. 16, 14. 18, 9. 1 Ki. 21, 18.

⁵ Comp. Pusey on Hab. 1, 5; Delitzsch on Job 25, 2; Ew. § 200. Some additional instances might be given from the books not named: but they would not be numerous.

Obs. 2. A strange extension (as it would seem) of this usage is met with occasionally: Jer. 2, 17 בַּעַת מוֹלִיכֶיךָ in the time of (*him*) leading thee in the wilderness. Ezek. 27, 34 נִשְׁבְּרָתָּ in the time of (*thee*) broken (= what time thou art broken: most moderns with three (not Syr.) ancient versions read indeed נִשְׁבְּרָתָּ, but the punctuation of the text has at least the support of Jer. 2). Cf. 36, 13 יֵעַן אֹמְרִים because of (men) saying to you. Gen. 38, 29 כַּמְשִׁיב seems to me to be so destitute of Biblical analogy to support it¹ that I cannot help suggesting that we ought to read כְּהִשְׁיב (the suffix omitted, as 19, 29. 24, 30 and elsewhere)². At the same time, the construction of the text is one tolerably common in the Mishnah; and it is possible that it may be an isolated anticipation of the later usage. See Weiss, *Studien über die Sprache der Mischna* [in Hebrew], Wien 1867 (referred to by Ryssel, p. 29), who cites (p. 89) *Terumoth* 4, 8 בְּיָדוּעַ (= בהיותו ידוע: the negative in the next line is ידוע וּכְשֵׁאִינוּ ידוע); 10, 1 and elsewhere בְּנוֹתֵן הַצֶּמֶס = when it gives a flavour; *Shabbath* 2, 5 עַל הַקָּהָס (= כהיות חס) when he attends to the lamp, etc.

Obs. 3. Instances even occur of an *impersonal* use of the passive ptcp.: at least the passages following are most probably to be so explained: Ps. 87, 3 בְּדָר מְדַבֵּר *it is spoken* (= one speaketh) of thee glorious things³. Mal. 1, 11 מְקַטֵּר מִנְשָׂא *lit. it is incensed, it is offered to my name*: Ezek. 40, 17. 41, 18. 19. 46, 23 קָשׁוּי.

(7) When the *article* is joined to the ptcp., it ceases to be a mere predicate, and acquires altogether a new emphasis and force: indeed, inasmuch as the article marks that which is *known* and of which something hitherto

¹ Ps. 74, 5 (even though, as is less probable, ידוע be neuter). Isa. 17, 5^b are not parallel.

² Hitz. followed by Dillm. adds 40, 10 (כהיות פ' = כפורחה), in which case the *v.* must be rendered 'and it (cas. pend.), as it was budding, its blossoms shot forth:' but the comparative sense of כ (Rashi, A. V.) seems simpler and more natural.

³ The *accus.*, as frequently with a passive *verb*, e. g. Job 22, 9 וּרְוַעַת יְהוּמִים ידנא, and *it is bruised* (= one bruise) the arms of the orphans. See Ewald, § 295^b.

unknown is predicated¹, it has even some claim to be regarded as the *subject*². Deut. 3, 21 עֵינֶיךָ הָרְאוּ thine eyes—not *were seeing* רָאוּ, but—*were those which saw*: so 4, 3. 11, 7; 8, 18 וְטוֹטוֹס οὐτός ἐστὼς ὁ ὠδὸς σοί. Isa. 14, 27 יְדוֹ הַנְּטוּיָהּ his hand is *that which is stretched out* (which was spoken of, *v.* 26). 66, 9 אֲנִי הַמְּשַׁבֵּיר Zech. 7, 6^b ye are *the eaters* (alluded to, 6^a). Num. 7, 2. 1 Sam. 4, 16. Ezek. 20, 29. Once or twice, after אֲשֶׁר: 1 Ki. 12, 8 who were *those which stood* before him. 21, 11.

It need scarcely be remarked that in passages such as Ps. 18, 33 the article is resumptive,—32^b and who a rock except our God? *the God who* guideth me etc. 48. 19, 11 הנחמדים *which* (10^b) *are more desirable* than gold [A. V. is the rendering of הם הנחמדים]. 49, 7 *who trust* . . . (understanding עֲקָבֵי 6^b in a personal sense). Job 6, 16.

Obs. A unique form of expression occurs Isa. 11, 9 לִמֵּי הַיָּם מְכַסֵּי־הַיָּם *lit.* as the waters, coverers to the sea. Construed thus as a noun, but with the ל of reference, not a following genit., the ptc. retains still the freshness of the verb, and has an independence which is commoner in Arabic than in Hebrew. The nearest parallel in O. T. is Num. 10, 25 (cited by Ewald, § 292^e) מִאֲסַף לְכַל־הַמַּחֲנֶה: cf. also 25, 18 צוֹרְרִים הֵם לְנַחֵם. Deut. 4, 42 וְהוּא לֹא שֹׂנֵא לוֹ and he being a *not-hater to him* aforesometimes. Isa. 14, 2. But the peculiar compactness and force of Isaiah's phrase is due to the position which he has boldly given it at the end: Habakkuk in his imitation (2, 14) is satisfied to use an ordinary Hebrew idiom. In Arabic comp. قَرْنَ حَافِظُونَ وَهِيَ مُجَانِبَةٌ لَّهُ *eā illum vitante*, and (where the order is the same) Qor. 15, 9 إِنَّا لَهٗ حَافِظُونَ *lo, of that we (will be) keepers.* 12, 81. (Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* § 652; Wright, *Arab. Gramm.* ii. § 31 *rem.*)

¹ Hence its name with the Jewish grammarians, הַיְיָעָה.

² Comp. Mark 13, 11; and Moulton's note on Winer, § 18. 7. See also below, § 199.

CHAPTER XI.

Hypotheticals.

136. WE arrive at the last part of our subject—the forms assumed in Hebrew by *hypothetical* or conditional sentences. In general, it will be seen, these involve no fresh principles; so that, as the nature of the tenses, and the constructions of which they are capable, have been already fully explained, it will be sufficient in most cases simply to enunciate their different types, without further elucidation beyond such as is afforded by illustrative examples.

I. *If I see him* (the time at which this is imagined as possibly taking place not being further indicated, but belonging either to the real, or to the potential, future), *I will let him know.*

With an *imperfect* in the protasis. The apodosis may then begin:

(a) With $\dot{\text{ו}}$ *conv.* and the perfect; so very frequently:—
Gen. 18, 26 *if I shall find* (or simply *if I find*) fifty righteous in Sodom $\dot{\text{ו}}\dot{\text{נ}}\dot{\text{ש}}\dot{\text{פ}}\dot{\text{א}}\dot{\text{נ}}\dot{\text{י}}$ *I will pardon* the whole place for their sakes. 24, 8. 32, 9. 18 f. (כי). Ex. 19, 5. 23, 22 *if thou hearkenest*, $\dot{\text{ו}}\dot{\text{א}}\dot{\text{י}}\dot{\text{כ}}\dot{\text{ת}}$. Deut. 6, 20 f. 15, 12 $\dot{\text{ו}}\dot{\text{ע}}\dot{\text{ב}}\dot{\text{ר}}\dot{\text{ך}}$ (see Ex. 21, 2). 1 Sam. 20, 6. 1 Ki. 8, 44 f. 46–49. Ps. 89, 31–33 $\dot{\text{ו}}\dot{\text{פ}}\dot{\text{ק}}\dot{\text{ד}}\dot{\text{ת}}$. . . $\dot{\text{א}}\dot{\text{ם}} \dot{\text{י}}\dot{\text{ע}}\dot{\text{ז}}\dot{\text{ב}}$ Job 8, 18 etc.

Obs. The verb is sometimes separated from the ך, and so lapses into the imperfect:—Ex. 8, 22 (§ 124). Josh. 20, 5. 2 Chr. 7, 13 f. וַיִּנְאֵי (after a long protasis); Prov. 19, 19. Job 14, 7—both וַיִּנְאֵי.

(β) With the impf. (without ך); this likewise is very frequent and not distinguishable in meaning from α:—Gen. 42, 37 my two sons תִּמְתָּךְ thou mayest kill לֹא אֶבְיִיאֲנִי if I do not bring him back to thee. 1 Ki. 1, 52. Ob. 5, cf. Jer. 49, 9^a (9^b, pf. as γ). Ps. 75, 3. 132, 12. 138, 7. Prov. 4, 16 unless they do evil יִנְאֵי לֹא they *do not* (freq., or *cannot*) sleep.

(β*) The simple imperfect may of course be replaced if necessary by a voluntative or imperative:—1 Sam. 20, 21. 21, 10 if thou wilt take *that*¹, take it. 2 Ki. 2, 10 etc.

With ך prefixed, very rare:—Gen. 13, 9. 2 Sam. 12, 8.

(γ) With perfect alone² (expressing the certainty and suddenness with which the result immediately accom-

¹ וַיִּנְאֵי is here emphatic: cf. 18, 17. 20, 9. Isa. 43, 22. Judg. 14, 3; also Ex. 21, 8 Qri וַיִּנְאֵי (in contrast to וַיִּבְנֵי, v. 9; comp. the position of וַיִּבְנֵי לֹא, 2 Sam. 17, 13).

² With this use of the perfect compare in Greek Plat. *Krat.* 432 A ὡσπερ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ δέκα ἢ ὅστις βούλει ἄλλος ἀριθμὸς, ἐὰν ἀφέλῃς τι ἢ προσθῆς, ἕτερος εὐθὺς γέγονε. Soph. *Phil.* 1280 εἰ δὲ μὴ τι πρὸς καιρὸν λέγων Κυρῶ πέπαυμαι. The aorist is also similarly met with, as Il. xvii. 99. *Phileb.* 17 D ὅταν γὰρ ταῦτα λάβῃς οὕτω, τότε ἐγένου σοφός. *Gorg.* 484 etc., on which the remark of Riddell, *Apology of Plato*, p. 154, is worth quoting: 'The subjunctive construction with ἄν, not admissible with a past Tense, constrains us to see in the Aorist the expression of an action *instantaneously complete, rather than necessarily past.*' Compare Winer, § 40. 4^b, also 5^b, who quotes *Livy* xxi. 43 si eundem animum habuerimus, *vicimus.*

In English, the *present* is sometimes used with the same object: Shakespeare, *Ant. and Cl.* ii. 5. 26 If thou say so, villain, thou *kill'st* thy mistress. Milton, *P. L.* 5, 613.

panies the occurrence of the protasis):—Num. 32, 23 if you do not do so הִנֵּה הִטְאַתֶּם see you have sinned! 1 Sam. 2, 16 and if not, לִקְחֵתִי I take it by force! cf. Ezek. 33, 6 נִלְקַח. Hos. 12, 12 (הוּי in apod., 'of the certain future'). Job 20, 12–14: comp. 9, 27 f.¹ Cf. after the indefinite אֲשֶׁר Gen. 24, 14 הִכְבַּחַת.

Obs. Compare the manner in which the perfect is found, not indeed in a formal apodosis, but still with a reference to some preceding conditional clause—implicitly if not explicitly stated. Lev. 13, 25 פָּרַחָה 17, 3 f. the apodosis proper ends at הָהוּא: then follow the words דָּם שָׁפַךְ i. e. *he has* (in the case assumed) *shed* blood (cf. § 17). Num. 19, 13 טָמְאָה 20. 15, 25 וְהָם הֵבִיאוּ (when the directions 24 have been observed, they *will have* brought their offering). Ezek. 33, 5.

(8) With participle:—Gen. 4, 7. Lev. 21, 9.

Without any verb in apodosis:—Gen. 4, 24 וְ. 31, 50. Ps. 8, 4. 120, 7. Qoh. 4, 10^b וְ. 10, 11 וְ.

Slightly different are 1 Sam. 6, 10 if it goeth up by B. הוּא עָשָׂה HE *hath done* us this great evil. 1 Ki. 22, 28 if thou returnest בִּי דָבַר יִי לֹא Yahweh *hath not spoken* by me. Num. 16, 29. Ezek. 14, 9^a: cf. Luke 11, 20.

Obs. Occasionally the imperfect is thus found in the protasis in reference to *past* time:—Gen. 31, 8 אִם יֹאמֵר if ever he said . . . וַיִּלְדוּ then all the flock *would* bear etc. Ex. 40, 37 (apod. וְלֹא יִסְעוּ); cf. Num. 9, 19–21, and the impff. in Job 31, alternating with perff. These differ from Gen. 38, 9. Num. 21, 9. Judg. 2, 18. Amos 7, 2. Ps. 78, 34, where the *perfect* is used: 'and it came to pass, *if* or *when* the serpents *had* bitten a man that he looked, and lived,'—the idea of repetition is dropped from the protasis, and retained only in the pff. with ו, which introduce the apodosis.

¹ Where, for אִם אָמַרְתִּי, אִם אָמַרְתִּי might have been expected; but comp. the use of the inf. Judg. 19, 9. 2 Sam. 15, 20. Jer. 9, 5. Zef. 3, 20. Zech. 9, 10^b. Ps. 23, 6 (וּשְׁבַחִי).

137. Sometimes the participle is found in the protasis—accompanied or not by וְ or אִין : this may then be followed by—

(α) The perfect and וְ :—Gen. 24, 42 f. Lev. 3, 7. Judg. 6, 36 f. (וַיִּדְעָתִי = may I know, § 119 δ, cf. 39 וַיִּהְיֶנָּה). 11, 9 $\text{אִם מְשִׁיבִים אַתֶּם}$ if you are *going to* bring me back.

(β) The imperfect:—Lev. 3, 1. 2 Ki. 7, 2. 19 (after הִנֵּה).

(β*) Gen. 24, 49. Judg. 9, 15. Jer. 42, 13 (apod. 15 וַעֲתָה).

(δ) Another participle:—Ex. 8, 17. 9, 2 f. 1 Sam. 19, 11. Jer. 26, 15.

138. II. *If I have seen him* (i. till any time in the indefinite or more or less remote future: ii. during a period extending up to the moment of speaking, or to a moment otherwise fixed by the context), *I will let him know*. In the first of these cases the sense conveyed by the perfect is hardly distinguishable from that borne by the imperfect, § 136 (though it does not occur so frequently); but it rather contemplates the case assumed *after* its occurrence (*si videro*, § 17, not *si videbo*). Observe that in i. the principal verb is succeeded in the protasis by perfects with *waw conv.* (Gen. 43, 9. Job 11, 13 f.), while in ii. it is succeeded by the imperfect and וְ .

i. (α) With the pf. and *waw conv.* in the apodosis:—as Gen. 43, 9 $\text{וְהָיִיתִי לְרֵעַךְ . . . לֹא הִבִּיאֲתִי}$. . . *si non reduxero, per omnem vitam reus ero* (cf. 42, 37). 47, 6. 2 Sam. 15, 33 LXX $\text{ἐὰν μὲν διαβῆς μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἔσῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ εἰς βάσταγμα}$ (where *καὶ* is really superfluous). 2 Ki. 7, 4 $\text{אִם אָמַרְנוּ נָבוֹא}$ $\text{אִם אָמַרְנוּ נָבוֹא}$ Vulg. *sive ingredi voluerimus civitatem, fame moriemur: sive manserimus hic, moriendum nobis est*. Mic. 5, 7^b. Job 7, 4 if (at any time) I lie down,

וְאָמַרְתִּי¹ *I say*, When shall I get up? (waiting wearily for the morning). 13 f. when I say etc., וְהִתַּתֵּנִי then thou terrifiest me. 10, 14 if I sin, thou watchest me. 21, 6.

(β) With the impf. alone in the apodosis:—Deut. 32, 41 אִם שְׁנוֹתַי if (at any time) *I have whet* (or simply *I whet*) my glittering sword וְתִאָּחַז so that² my hand takes hold on judgment, אֲשִׁיב *I will requite* vengeance etc. Ps. 41, 7. 63, 7. 94, 18 if (at any time) אֹמַרְתִּי *I say*, My foot hath slipped, thy mercy *will hold* (or *holdeth*, freq.) me up. Prov. 9, 12^b (אִם understood from 12^a, exactly as in Job 10, 15^b from 15^a; cf. 16, 6. 22, 23^b). Job 9, 30 f. (וְהוֹכֹחֹתִי, § 104).

(β*) Prov. 25, 21. Job 11, 13 f.

(γ) With perfect alone:—Isa. 40, 7. Jer. 49, 9^b.

And without any verb in the apodosis:—Jer. 14, 18. Prov. 24, 14, both with וְ.

ii. As already stated, this class of instances differs from those cited under i. in the nature of the *protasis*: a few examples will make it plain in what the difference consists. The apodosis may commence:—

(a) With the perfect and וְ:—Num. 5, 27 if she *have* defiled herself וְתִמְעַל and *been faithless*, וְבָאוּ then shall they come etc. 15, 24 if it *have been* done (the other case follows *v.* 27 in the imperfect), וְעָשׂוּ etc. 35, 22–24 . . . וְאִם וְהִדְפֹּן and if (in the assumed case) *he have hit* him unexpectedly וְיָמָת and *he have died*, וְשִׁפְטוּ the congregation shall judge.

¹ Tone as Ps. 28, 1, § 104.

² According to §§ 61, 62: were it meant as a *mere* continuation of שְׁנוֹתַי, the pf. וְאִחַז, as the other examples shew, would have been the form employed.

(β) With the imperfect :—Num. 30, 6. Jer. 33, 25 f. if I have not made a covenant with the day (as I have done) אֲמַנְּךָ I will reject. Ezek. 33, 9, cf. 8.

(β*) Judg. 9, 16–19 if ye *have* done honestly (foll. by וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ), rejoice in Abimélekh! 1 Sam. 26, 19. Ps. 7, 4 f. Job 31, 39 f.

(γ) With the perfect alone :—Ezek. 3, 19 הִצִּילָהּ.

Obs. The perfect with אָמַם or אָו is thus met with in *subordinate* hypothetical clauses: so Ex. 21, 36 אִם יִדְרַע אֲו but *if it be known* (a case supposed to have occurred under the conditions stated 35*). 22, 2 if the sun *have risen*. Lev. 4, 23 si confessus fuerit. 28. 5, 1 אֲו רָאָה אֲו יִדְרַע. 3–5 or when it touches etc. and it be hidden from him, *but he have* (afterwards) *ascertained it* and be guilty, or when etc. (4 propounding a similar possibility) וְהָיָה *then it shall be* etc. 17, 21–23 אֲו מִצָּא. 13, 2 f. when there is . . . and the priest sees it . . . and the hair הִפְךָ *have turned* white: so repeatedly in this chapter after הִנֵּה. Num. 35, 16–18. 20 f. if יִדְרַע הָיָה he hit him in hatred—אֲו הִשְׁלִיךְ whether he *have thrown* something at him insidiously, אֲו הִכָּה or *have smitten* him with his hand (two alternatives possible under the assumed case of hatred) וְיָמָת *and he die*, מוֹת יוֹמָת he shall be surely put to death.

139. III. *If I had seen him, I would have told him* (εἰ εἶδον ἀνήγγελλα ἄν' the protasis is supposed not to have been realized, and consequently the apodosis does not take place). For this case Hebrew uses the *perfect* in both clauses, whether after אָמַם Ps. 73, 15; or אָלַי Esth. 7, 4; or לִי Judg. 8, 19 if you had kept them alive (which you did not do) לֹא הִרַגְתִּי I should not have killed you אֲו ἄν ἀπέκτεινα ὑμᾶς (as I am just going to do: not *I should not kill you οὐκ ἄν ἀπέκτεινον*, which would be אָהֲרַג, because Gid'on has in his mind the time when the action will have been completed); or לִי אֲו 14, 18. 1 Sam. 25, 34 unless thou hadst hastened וַתִּבְּאֵתִי and come, נֹתֵר אָמַם there had

not¹ been left to Nabal etc. (as now there will be left). Isa. 1, 9. Ps. 94, 17. 106, 23 (apod. put first, as אמרתי Deut. 32, 26, but being connected with what precedes it appears in the form וַיֹּאמֶר, otherwise it would be אָמַר as in Deut.), al.

140. Where no apodosis follows, the perfect with לו may denote a *wish*—one, however, which has not been realized.

Num. 14, 2 לוּ מִתְּנֶנּוּ 20, 3. Josh. 7, 7 וְלוּ הוֹאֵלְנוּ וּנְשָׁבַב. Isa. 48, 18 f. לוּ הִקְשַׁבְתָּ O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! וַיְהִי and so (= then) thy peace had been like a river. 63, 19 O that thou hadst rent etc. (viz. now, already; the more empassioned expression for, O that thou wouldst . . . , § 142).

141. Again, instead of going on regularly to the apodosis, the sentence sometimes breaks off with an aposiopesis, and the result which would have occurred if the protasis had been realized is introduced more emphatically by כִּי עִתָּהּ or כִּי אִזּוֹ for then, in that case. Thus Gen. 31, 42 if the God of my father had not been with me—כִּי עִתָּהּ שְׁלַחְתָּנִי—for then (or, uniting this second clause to the first, and so making it into a formal apodosis, indeed then) thou hadst (or wouldst have) sent me away empty! 43, 10. Num. 22, 33 (if for אֵילֵי we read לֵילֵי). 1 Sam. 14, 30 (if with LXX לֹא be omitted). 2 Sam. 2, 27.

It is evidently only one step further than this for the

¹ The first כִּי introduces, as often (e. g. 26, 16. 29, 6. 2 Sam. 3, 35), the assertion following the oath: the second כִּי is merely *resumptive* of the first, after the clause with לוּלִי; so 2 Sam. 3, 9. Jer. 22, 24. Elsewhere the אִם belongs to, and slightly strengthens, the כִּי, as 26, 10. 2 Sam. 15, 21 Kt.

clause with **כִּי עֵתָה** to be found by itself, the actual protasis being suppressed altogether, and only a *virtual* one being pointed to by **עֵתָה**:—Ex. 9, 15 for *then* (or *else* i. e. if the intention expressed in 14^b, and further expanded in 16, had not existed) **שָׁלַחְתִּי אֶת יָדִי וְאַף** *I should have put forth my hand and smitten thee* etc. (i. e. instantaneously instead of slowly: for the idea, cf. Ps. 59, 12). 1 Sam. 13, 13 thou hast not kept the commandment of Yahweh; *for then* (if thou hadst done so) **הֲבִינִי** he would have established thy kingdom. 2 Ki. 13, 19 **אִז**. Job 3, 13^a (16, 7 is different: **עֵתָה** there resembles **עֵתָה** in 1 Sam. 14, 30 if we adhere to the Masoretic text, *as the case actually is*). 31, 28 **כִּי** alone.

142. If under these circumstances the *imperfect* occurs in the protasis, it naturally denotes a condition realizable in the present or the future: where no apodosis follows, we shall then have, in accordance with the context, and the tone in which the words are uttered, the expression of either hope or alarm—either a *wish* or a *fear*¹—thus Gen. 17, 18 **לִי יִחְיֶה** *if* Ishma'el might live before thee! (cf. the imperative 23, 18, the jussive 30, 34). Ex. 32, 32 **הֲשִׂיא** *if* thou wouldst only forgive their sin! Ps. 81, 9, 95, 6^b (in both cases the following verses contain the words to be listened to) Prov. 2, 1. 24, 11.

On the other hand we hear the language of alarm:—Gen. 50, 15 **לֹא יִשְׂטַמְנוּ** *if* he were to hate us! Ex. 4, 1 **וְהִן** and if they do not believe me!

¹ Compare Ps. 41, 9 LXX **μη δ κοιμώμενος οὐχὶ προσθήσει τοῦ ἀναστῆναι**; where the affirmative answer, always expected when **μη οὐ** is employed, is contemplated not with *hope*, but with *alarm*: 'Won't he that is now sick—won't he recover?'

As before, the protasis may be succeeded by *כי עתה* :— Job 6, 2 f. *לֹא* O that my vexation might be *weighed* . . . *כי יכבד עתה* *for then it would be heavier than the sand!* 8, 6^b (after the triple protasis, 4-6^a). 2 Ki. 5, 3 *אִם*.

Or the clause with *כי עתה* may occur without any actual protasis :— Job 3, 13^b. 13, 19 *for then* (if there were any one able to contend with me and prove me in the wrong) I *would* be silent and die. Cf. 23, 7 *שָׁם*. 32, 22 quickly (if I flattered) *would* my Maker take me away.

143. IV. In some of the instances last cited we may notice that the protasis states a case which might indeed conceivably occur (as Gen. 50, 15), but which may also (as Job 6, 2) be purely imaginary. We are thus conducted to another class of conditional propositions, consisting of an *imperfect*¹ in both clauses, and corresponding to the double optative in Greek, *If I were to see him* (on the mere supposition, be it ever so unlikely or hyperbolic, that I were to see him) *I would tell him*.

¹ It will be remembered that two imperfects have met us before, in the formula *If I see him I will tell him*, *ἐὰν ἴδω ἀναγγελάω*, and it may appear strange that two significations should be assigned to the same combination. But the fact is that in *both* cases, in *ἐὰν ἴδω* as well as in *εἰ ἴδοιμι*, it is a mere possibility that is enunciated: now, when from the circumstances of the case the chances of this possible event taking place are but small, we mark in English our sense of the increased improbability by throwing the verbs into a form more expressive of contingency. In employing the optative in place of the subjunctive mood, the Greeks did precisely the same: Hebrew, on the other hand, was satisfied with a single mode of expression. Nor is the ambiguity greater than that which exists in a parallel case in our own language, where *if I had anything, I would give it*, has often to do duty for both *εἰ εἶχον, ἐδίδοον ἂν* and *εἰ ἔχοιμι, διδοίην ἂν*.

Where the ideas contained in the protasis and apodosis respectively are parallel and similar we must render the conditional particle by *if*: where they are contrasted we may, if we please, employ *though*.

With אִם:—Gen. 13, 16 so that אִם-יִבָּל *if* a man *could* number the stars, thy seed also יִמְנָה *might be numbered*. Num. 22, 18 (cf. 1 Ki. 13, 8). Isa. 1, 18 *though* they were as scarlet, they should become white as snow. 10, 22. Amos 9, 2-4 (notice the apod. continued by וְ and pf. 3, 'from there would I search וְלִקְחָתִים and take them:': so *v.* 4). Ps. 27, 3. 50, 12. 139, 8 (also cohort.). Job 9, 3. 20. Cant. 8, 7. Jer. 2, 22 *though* thou wert to wash with potash, thy iniquity נִכְתָּם (would remain) in a state of blackness before me.

With פִּי:—Jer. 51, 53. Ps. 37, 24^a. 49, 19 f. (apod. תבוא)¹: with נִם פִּי Ps. 23, 4. Isa. 1, 15 (with partic. in apod.: *though* ye multiply, I will not hear. The partic. is found likewise Jer. 14, 12): with אִם נִם Qoh. 8, 17; and with לִי Job 16, 4 I too like you אדברה *would gladly* speak: if your soul were in my soul's stead, אחבירה *I would* heap up words against you ואניעה *would* shake my head at you: the cohort. also *v.* 6.

The above are the most common types of hypothetical constructions in Hebrew: V and VI are, accidentally, of much rarer occurrence.

144. V. *If I had seen him, I would (now) tell him.*

Deut. 32, 29 הֲכִמּוּ לִי *if they had been wise* יִשְׁפִּילוּ *they would understand this (at the present time—which they do not do)*. 2 Sam. 18, 13. 2 Ki. 5, 13. Ps. 44, 21 f. *if we*

¹ In none of the examples is the apod. introduced by ו: Isa. 54, 10 כִּי is, accordingly, best understood as *for*, וחסרי being adversative: see 49, 15 (yea, these *may* forget, *but* I will not forget); 51, 6.

had forgotten the name of our God וַנִּפְרַשׁ and stretched out our hands to a strange god, *would* not God find this out? (he does *not* find it out, because it has not been done: on the contrary, *upon thy account* etc. v. 23). 66, 18. Job 9, 15. 16.

Conversely Deut. 32, 26 I *had* (should have) said I would scatter them, לֹא־לִי אֶנְיָר did I not dread the vexation of the enemy (the vexation which his triumph would cause me).

145. VI. *If I saw him* (*now*, which I do not do) *I would tell him* (εἰ ἑώρακον, ἀνγγελλον ἄν): with לִי and a participle in the protasis.

2 Sam. 18, 12. 2 Ki. 3, 14 לֹא־לִי אֶנְיָר except I *were favourable* to Yehoshaphat, אִם אֶבִּיט I would surely not look at thee! Ps. 81, 14-17 לִי עַפִּי שִׁמַּע *if my people were hearkening* to me . . . , quickly אֶכְנִיעַ *would I bow down* their enemies etc. (the verses relate, not to what might have happened in the past, but to the possibilities of restoration and prosperity in the *present*). Mic. 2, 10 (והיה apod.).

146. Hebrew, however, is capable of expressing hypothetical propositions without the aid of any hypothetical particle to introduce them¹. There are three principal forms which such *implicit hypotheticals* may assume: these

¹ The reader will be tempted to compare this absence of a conditional particle in Hebrew with the omission which not unfrequently takes place in English and German. In these languages, however, the omission is accompanied by an *inversion* of the usual order of words, which, by placing the verb before the subject, suggests to the reader the idea of a question, and so apprises him that the proposition involved is only an *assumption*, and not a fact. But, as will be seen, the relation between protasis and apodosis must be explained in Hebrew upon a different principle.

may be distinguished as the double perfect with $\ddot{\text{}}$ *conv.*, the double jussive, and the hypothetical imperative. In addition to these there are a few isolated forms which resemble the types already discussed, the only difference being that the conditional particle is not present.

147. (i) The double perfect with $\text{}$ *conv.*

This use of the perfect with $\text{}$ is nothing more than an extension, in a particular case, of its employment as a frequentative: sometimes, indeed, it is hardly so much as that; for often the contingent nature of the events spoken of will be sufficiently clear in a translation from the sense of the passage without the addition of any hypothetical particle¹. A single perfect with $\ddot{\text{}}$ indicates, as we know, an action the actual date of which is indeterminate, but which is capable of being realized at any or every moment: *two* perfects with $\ddot{\text{}}$ will indicate therefore *two* actions, which may similarly be realized at any or every moment. Now put the two verbs by each other in a single sentence, and the juxtaposition at once causes them *mutually to determine one another*: the reader feels that the idea intended to be conveyed is just this, that the occurrence of one of the events was always, so to speak, the signal for the occurrence of the other. And thus we see how a *compound frequentative* may be equivalent to a *simple hypothetical*.

148. (1) In past or present time:—

Ex. 33, 10 $\text{}$. . . $\text{}$ and all the people *used to see and stand up* (or, *would see and stand up*): but the moments of standing up are obviously fixed and deter-

¹ Hence, some of the passages quoted here will likewise be found cited above, § 113. 4; cf. 120.

mined by the moments of seeing, which are plainly conceived as preceding them: this relation between the two acts may be more explicitly stated in English thus—‘*if, when, whenever* the people saw, they stood (or, used to stand) up.’ And it is to be observed that our language prefers the undisguised conditional construction when the first verb (or that in the protasis) is *subordinate* in importance to the second, when e. g. it is such a word as ראה or שמע, although in Hebrew the two are strictly co-ordinate—an additional instance to the many we have already had of the way in which we bring into relief what the older language left as a plain surface.

Ex. 16, 21 LXX rightly ἡνίκα δὲ διεθέρμαιεν ὁ ἥλιος, ἐτήκετο. 34, 35. Num. 10, 17 f. 21 f. (the writer passes v. 17 from the description of a *particular* case, with which he began 11–16, to that of the *general* custom: hence the series of perfects with וְ 17–27; p. 190, n. 1). 1 Sam. 17, 34 f. Jer. 18, 4. 8 וְנִהְיֶה וְנִשָּׁב וְנִחַמְתִּי and *if* it turns, *then* I repent. 10. 20, 9 וְאִמְרָתִי וְהִיָּה וְהִיָּה וְהִיָּה *if* I say (or said), I will not make mention of him, וְהִיָּה *then it is* (or *was*) in my heart like a burning fire (where, in the rendering of A. V., there is no indication of the *prolonged* agitation, so clearly implied in the idiom used by the prophet).

149. (2) In the future:—

Gen. 33, 13 and they will overdrive them one day, and all the flock will die (every one feels that it is a contingent, not a certain result, that is anticipated, cf. the single verb, 20, 11). 42, 38. 44, 22 וְעָזַב אָבִיו וְנָמַת and *if* he leaves his father, he will die. 29. Ex. 4, 14*¹ וְרָאָךְ וְשָׂמַח and *when*

¹ In the passages marked thus *, the first verb is ראה, which, as is not unfrequently the case in Hebrew, though against the idiom of

he sees thee, he will rejoice. 12, 13*. 23*. Lev. 22, 7 (cf. Ex. 16, 21 in the past). Num. 10, 3. 5 f. 14, 15 וְהִמַּתָּהּ and *if* thou killest. 15, 39* (cf. Gen. 9, 16). 23, 20 וּבִרְךָ וְלֹא and *if* he blesseth, I cannot reverse it (impf., because separated from ו). Deut. 4, 29^a (cf. Jer. 29, 12 f.). 1 Sam. 16, 2. 19, 3 (cf. Num. 23, 3). 1 Ki. 8, 30 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ וְכִלַּחְתָּ: and *when* thou hearest forgive (for the *repetition* of the verb שָׁמַע after what precedes cf. Lev. 13, 3. 1 Sam. 29, 10). Isa. 6, 13 and *if* there be still in it a tenth part etc. Ezek. 3, 17. 17, 15^b. 18, 10 and *if* he begets a son, who etc. . . . (v. 13) וְחָי shall he live? 33, 3* (cf. Isa. 21, 7). Prov. 3, 24 וְשִׁבְבֶתָּ (not under the government of אֵם: cf. Job 5, 24^b).

Compare further Judg. 6, 13 וַיֵּשׁ and *is* Yahweh with us וְלָמָּה וְלָמָּה *why then* has all this come upon us? 2 Sam. 13, 26 וְלֹא and *not* (= and if not), let Amnon go with us. 2 Ki. 5, 17. 10, 15 וַיֵּשׁ and if it is so.

150. (ii and iii) The hypothetical imperative and double jussive.

our own language, is treated as though it represented an independent, substantive idea, equal in importance to that expressed by the succeeding verb. Thus Gen. 45, 27 'and he saw the wagons, and his spirit revived;' where *saw* expresses such a subordinate and transitory idea that in English we feel disposed to render 'and *when* he saw;' this, however, would strictly have been וַיֵּהי כִּרְאוֹתוֹ. If we make use of a more emphatic word, we can retain the Hebrew form of sentence without its sounding unnatural, thus:—'and he *looked at* the wagons and his spirit revived.' So 46, 29. 1 Sam. 10, 14. 17, 51^b. Ezek. 20, 28. The case is similar with verbs of *hearing*, Josh. 2, 11. 22, 12; or *finishing*, Ex. 34, 33. 39, 32. Lev. 16, 20. 2 Sam. 11, 27. Ezek. 4, 6. 5, 13. Passages such as those just quoted explain וַיְכַל Gen. 2, 2: the act of *completion* is regarded as sufficiently distinct and independent to have a special day assigned to it.

The use of the imperative or jussive to indicate hypothetical propositions is to be explained upon the same principle as that of the double perfect, although the use of a different verbal form modifies to a certain extent the nature of the condition expressed. In the present case the first verb enunciates a command or permission: the general sense of the passage, however, or the tone in which the words are uttered may indicate that the speaker does not intend the language to be understood *literally*, or to be carried into actual execution under *all and any circumstances*, but only in so far as is requisite for the purpose of realizing and comprehending the manner in which the action denoted by the second verb is involved in, and results from, that denoted by the first. This may, of course, be done *mentally*: and thus a concise and emphatic mode of expressing a hypothetical sentence is obtained¹.

151. English as well as classical idiom (Aesch. P. V. 728 (709); Verg. Ecl. iii. 104) requires the future² in place of the second imperative or jussive: and it is at first sight difficult to discover a justification or satisfactory explanation of the Hebrew construction. The most plausible supposition seems to be this, that the two correlative clauses were originally pronounced in such a manner as to shew that the intention of the speaker was to mark his opinion that the two were equivalent,

¹ Cf. Winer, § 43. 2 'when two imperatives are connected by *καὶ*, the first sometimes contains the condition (supposition) upon which the action indicated by the second will take place.'

² Or, at any rate, the indicative mood: cf., for example, Pope, *Essay on Man*, i. 251 f. 253-256. iv. 89-92.

that you might as well assume the one as the other, that if you imagined the first realized you must conceive the second realized as well, and that continual juxtaposition with this object generated in time a *fixed formula*. Thus Ps. 147, 18 יְזַבֵּי . . . יְזַבֵּי is strictly 'let him blow with his wind! let the waters flow!' i. e. assume the one, and you must assume the other: but by long usage the stiffness which originally attached to the formula disappeared, and the *collocation* of the two verbs ceased to do more than suggest simply the idea of a hypothetical relation: in the present case, 'if or when he blows with his wind, the waters flow!'

It will be objected that, inasmuch as the second verb in the example is the simple imperfect², if it were understood and treated accordingly, the meaning would be identical and the need for a circuitous explanation such as the one here proposed superseded. To this it must be replied that such a course would leave unexplained

¹ We can understand without much difficulty the use of the jussive when the verb is in the third person: but so arduous is it to pass outside the magic circle prescribed by the language with which we are most familiar, that the inability of English to express the *idea* of a jussive in the first and second persons (except through the medium of a circumlocution by which its presence is disguised) constitutes a serious obstacle in the way of our realizing its application under the last-named circumstances.

² A double impf. in a frequentative sense would be as intelligible as the double pf., §§ 147, 148, and ought, perhaps, to be adopted for such cases as Prov. 26, 26 al., where the jussive form, although it exists, has not been employed, and for Ps. 104, 28-30. 109, 25. 139, 18, where the verbs have the old termination יָ- annexed to them, which (p. 92) usage seems to have treated as incompatible with the signification of a jussive. Cf. also Ps. 91, 7.

the similar cases in which (as will appear directly) the second verb is shewn to be a jussive by its form : the existence of these instances, supported as they are by the parallel construction of the imperative, as well as by the analogy of the corresponding idiom in Arabic, authorizes us in the inference that the verb is still jussive, although no visible indication of the fact may exist.

Obs. In Arabic the jussive is the mood which appears regularly after an imperative (whether the latter is intended to be understood in a hypothetical or a literal sense) for the purpose of indicating the *consequence* that will supervene, if the injunction conveyed by the imperative takes effect. A compound formula thus arises, of which יְהִי . . . קִּץ Ex. 7, 9 may be taken as the type. Inasmuch now as it is never the office of the jussive in Arabic to express a purpose or result (for which other idioms are employed) except when thus preceded by an imperative, it is natural to suppose that its appearance in such a capacity is in some way connected with the presence of this mood. A consequence which only results from the execution of a command is not like the absolute consequence of a certified fact ; it is essentially limited by, dependent on, the occurrence of the action denoted by the imperative ; virtually, therefore, it stands upon the same footing, and may be enunciated in the same terms—the collocation of the two verbs indicating with sufficient clearness the relation which they are conceived by the speaker or writer to occupy with regard to each other. And this *dependency* may be exhibited in English in more ways than one : sometimes a double imperative will be sufficient, at other times it will be better to adopt the form of an explicit hypothetical, or to employ the final conjunction *that* before the second verb.

Examples are not far to find : Qor'an 27, 12 put thy hand into thy bosom, *let it come forth* white, or, as we should say, *and it shall come forth* white. 2, 38 be true to my covenant, اوف (juss.) *let me be true* to yours ! i. e. 'if you are true to me, I will be true to you.' 129 become Jews or Christians, *be guided aright* (juss.), or, *that you may be guided aright* (contrast 7, 158). 3, 29 if you love God, follow me ; *let God love you*, and *forgive you your sins*, or, *then* he will

love you etc. (by inserting *then*, we assume that the 'following' has actually occurred, and so are enabled to employ the language of assurance—*will*; Arabic and Hebrew do *not* make this assumption, and are therefore obliged to adhere to an expression of contingency, in strict co-ordination with the imperative). 7, 71 (cf. 11, 67. 40, 27)

let her alone, **تَأْكُلْ** *let her eat* = that she may eat. 139. 142. 161. 40, 62 *if* you call upon me, I will answer you. 46, 30. 57, 28 fear God, and believe in his prophet, *let him give* (= 'that he may give;' or, 'and he will give,' viz. provided that you fear and believe) you a double portion of his mercy. 67, 4 etc.

The instances here cited (all of which are in exact conformity with the type **יְהִי . . . קֵץ**) form a welcome illustration of the Hebrew idiom. It ought, however, to be mentioned that as a general rule in Arabic this mood, when used literally as a 'jussive,' does not stand alone, but is preceded by the particle **لِ** *li*: in the class of instances under discussion the need of this seems to be superseded by the presence of the *imperative*, which sufficiently indicates the sense to be assigned to the jussive following¹.

152. But however this may be, the formulæ in question are of frequent occurrence. We have—

(i) *The hypothetical imperative*:—as Isa. 55, 2 *hearken unto me, and eat ye that which is good*: this might, of course, be a special counsel issued on a particular occasion, but it may have equally a more general purport, and affirm that *granting* or *supposing* the first imperative to take effect at any time, the second will be found to take effect also. Gen. 42, 18 *do this* **וְחַיִּי** *and live*: as the *living* is dependent upon the *doing*, if the double imperative in English be not free from ambiguity one of these equivalent forms may be substituted, 'do this *that* ye may live,' or 'if ye do this, ye shall live.' Amos 5, 4. 6 **וְחַיִּי**, for which *v.* 14 **לְמַעַן תַּחֲיוּ**)². Prov. 3, 3 f. ('and so find,' or

¹ Compare Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* § 732; Wright, ii. §§ 13, 17.

² Comp. Ps. 37. 27 (§ 65). Jer. 25, 5. 35, 15. Job 22, 21.

'that thou mayest find'). 4, 4 וחיה etc.; or in irony or defiance, Isa. 8, 9 vex yourselves *and be broken!* cf. p. 64 n.

And without †:—Prov. 20, 13. Job 40, 32 lay thine hand upon him, זכר † *think of the battle*, : אל-תוֹפֵף † *don't do it again!* (i. e. thou wilt not do it again.)

(ii) The same with a jussive* (or¹ cohortative †) in the apodosis²:—Isa. 8, 10 (ironically) take your counsel ותִּפֹּר † *and let it come to nought!* Prov. 3, 9 f. 4, 8 (19, 20 למען †). 20, 22* (so Mark 11, 24 יהי . . . יהי). Cf. Gen. 30, 28 †. 34, 12 †.

And without †:—Ex. 7, 9* 'take thy rod and cast it to the ground, יהי † *let it become a serpent!*' but as this is the object aimed at by the two preceding actions, we may also render, *that it may become.* 18, 19 שמוע איעצך Ps. 51, 16 (*that my tongue may sing*). 118, 19. 119, 17 (= *so or then shall I live, although without †*). Prov. 3, 7 f.* יהי †. 2 Chr. 25, 8.

(iii) *The double jussive*:—Isa. 41, 28 ואֵינִי אִישׁ וְאֵינִי אִישׁ † *and suppose (if) I looked, there was no man.* Ps. 104, 20* הַלֵּיָלָה לֵּי לַיְלָה † = *if or when thou makest darkness, then it is night*, cf. 32^b. Prov. 20, 25 יִלְעַץ (p. 125, n. 3) let a man cry hastily, It is sacred, and afterwards he will have to enquire into his vows! (to see whether he can free himself from them: in 25^b understand יהי †). 27, 17* Del. Job 22, 28^a*.

And without †:—2 Ki. 6, 27 (where notice אל † in protasis: the sense of the passage is, however, not certain).

¹ In the instances marked thus * or †, the presence of the voluntative is indicated by the form.

² Compare above, §§ 62, 64 *Obs.*, where indeed such of the instances as relate to a definite individual act might also have been placed.

Ps. 146, 4 (p. 218, n. 2). 147, 18^b. Prov. 1, 23 †. Job 10, 16f.* 11, 17: תְּהִי־יָמָיו כַּבֹּקֶר תִּתְעַפֶּה suppose it dark, 'twill become like the morning. 20, 24. Cf. 2 Sam. 18, 22 מָה אֲרָצָה־נָפְאָה יִהְיֶה כִּי יָרָץ וְגַם־אֲנִי well, come what may, I too will run.

(iv) Once or twice only is the jussive followed by an imperative:—Ps. 45, 12 (?); Job 15, 17.

153. Lastly, some passages must be noted in which the thought is *virtually* hypothetical; although this is in no way indicated by its syntactical dress:—

Prov. 11, 2 קִלְוֹן וַיָּבֵא זָרָוֶן וַיָּבֵא זָרָוֶן lit. 'pride has come and shame goes on to come,' i. e. follows it in any given case: this compound *general truth* (§ 12) is equivalent in meaning, though not in form, to the *explicit* hypothetical construction 'if or when pride cometh, then cometh shame' (cf. 18, 3^a). So 11, 8. 25, 4 (where we must not be misled by the English idiom so as to treat הִנֵּנוּ imperatively, as v. 5, which the following וַיִּצַּח forbids: the *inf. abs.* is here a substitute for the *perfect*). Job 3, 25^a. 23, 13. 29, 11 for the ear heard me, and it blessed me (= for when the ear heard me, then it etc.: A. V. *does not render the כִּי*): 22, 29 for they are depressed (perf. proph.: cf. גָּנְיָה 28^b) וְהִתְאַמַּרְתָּ and thou sayest, Up! (the view of Del. Dillm., that וַיִּ is apod. to כִּי = *édv*, is not favoured by analogy). These passages throw light upon Ex. 20, 25^b for thou hast lifted up thy sword upon it and defiled it! i. e. for *if* thou liftest up thy sword upon it, thou defilest it. Cf. Ps. 39, 12 . . . יִפְרֹתֶיךָ וְתִתְקַן־תִּתְקַן thou correctest *and* makest (= *when* thou dost correct, thou makest, A. V.) his beauty to consume away etc. Add also Ps. 37, 10^b (where וַיִּ cannot be conversive on account of the position of the tone: contrast Prov. 3, 24). Job 7, 8. 27, 19.

154. Often this *hypothetical* perfect, as it may be

termed, is followed by the impf. ἀσυνδέτως (cf. p. 39): thus Amos 3, 8 a lion *hath roared*, who shall not be afraid? (i. e. *supposing* it have roared). Job 7, 20 חָטָאתִי *have I sinned* (repeated 35, 6 with אָנֹכִי: that the perfect is hypothetical is, of course, further clear from the whole tenour of Job's argument), what do I do to thee? 19, 4. 21, 31. 23, 10. 24, 24. Lev. 15, 3. Prov. 19, 24. 22, 29¹: cf. Hos. 9, 6.

More rarely it is succeeded by another pf., as Prov. 24, 10. 26, 15. 27, 12 (contr. 22, 3): once by an imperative, 25, 16.

155. Only very seldom do we meet with what seems like one of the hypothetical constructions noticed above, with the *omission* of the conditional particle:—Josh. 22, 18. Neh. 1, 8; Isa. 26, 10 (§ 136 γ); Lev. 10, 19 אִכְלָתִּי and had I eaten, would it be good in the eyes of Yahweh? Num. 12, 14 (cf. § 144).

Obs. Whether it is permissible to explain Hos. 8, 12. Ps. 40, 6 by means of the principle of § 152 is doubtful, as nowhere does the *pf.* appear in the apodosis. The sequence in Isa. 58, 10 (which is passed over too lightly by the commentators) is no less unique: still, if Prov. 31, 6 f. Mic. 6, 14 (with אִלֵּי and impf. in apod.) can be referred rightly to § 152, ii and iii, respectively, they may perhaps justify its being treated similarly.

¹ 6, 22. Nah. 1, 12^b the first pf. is connected with what precedes by the weak *waw* (as Ps. 37, 10).

APPENDIX I.

The Circumstantial Clause.

156. THE term *circumstantial*, or, as the German word¹ is sometimes though perhaps less expressively rendered, *descriptive clause*, is one which constantly meets the student in the commentaries and grammars of modern scholars: and formulating as it does a characteristic usage of the language, its introduction has been of great service in the rational exposition of Hebrew syntax. It corresponds on the whole to what in the classical languages is generally termed the *secondary predicate*. Any word or words expressive of some fact *subordinate to the main course of the narrative*, or descriptive of some circumstance attaching or appertaining to the action denoted by the principal verb, may form a circumstantial clause or secondary predicate: an adverb, a genitive or ablative absolute, a participle or other word in apposition to the subject—all of which *qualify* the main action by assigning the *concomitant conditions* under which it took place, be they

¹ *Zustandsatz*, also *Umstandsatz*. With the whole of what follows compare generally Ewald, §§ 306^e, 341, who, however, seems disposed to extend the principle of the circumstantial clause beyond legitimate limits, to cases where its application becomes unreal.

modal, causal, or temporal—are familiar instances. But Hebrew has no signs for cases, no past or future participle, a limited development of adverbs or adjectives, and is weak in special words corresponding to conjunctions like *ὡς*, *ἐπει*, *quum* etc. : in what way, then, is it able to give expression to these subordinate details which although secondary, form still such an important factor in all continued narrative?

157. Already in the preceding pages, while considering the various mutual relations to one another of the different clauses which together constitute a complete sentence, we have more than once had occasion to notice how in Hebrew, to a much greater extent than in many other languages, these relations take the form of simple *co-ordination* : in other words, that, instead of the logical relation which each part bears to the whole being explicitly indicated, it is frequently left to be inferred by the reader for himself with just such help as he may be able to obtain from a change of position, or an alteration in the modulation of the voice. Now a similar method is employed for the expression of those circumstantial clauses which modern idiom usually marks more distinctly¹. The words expressing them are simply *thrown into the sentence*, being

¹ In early Greek we not unfrequently observe the same phenomenon : thus Il. vi. 148 *ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη*, which is logically subordinate to the preceding clause *ἀλλὰ δέ θ' ὕλη Τηλεθόωσα φύει*, of which it determines the moment of occurrence : grammatically, however, it is *co-ordinated* with it. So xiv. 417. xvi. 825. xvii. 302 *μινυρθάδιος δέ οἱ αὐτὸν ἔπλετο* (ספצר ימים, והוא), 572. xviii. 247 f. xxi. 364. xxii. 27 *ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαὶ φαίνονται*, his beams *shining* brightly.

either entirely disconnected with what precedes or joined to it only by !—with a change, however, of the usual order of the words, whereby the construction with ·!, expressive of the smooth and unbroken succession of events one after another, is naturally abandoned, as being alien to the relation that has now to be represented, and the *subject* of the circumstantial clause *placed first*. In consequence of the subject thus standing conspicuously in the foreground, the reader's attention is suddenly arrested, and directed pointedly to it: he is thus made aware that it is the writer's wish to lay special stress upon it as about to be contrasted, in respect of the predicate following, either with some *other* subject mentioned before, or else with the same subject under a *different* aspect (i. e. with a different predicate) previously mentioned or implied. The contrast may at times be less perceptible, and so possibly be thought not to exist: but this is no more than happens with μέν . . . δὲ in Greek, which always mark an antithesis of some sort or other, however evanescent it may sometimes appear. For instance, 1 Ki. 19, 19 'and he went thence and found Elisha, והוא הֲרִישׁ and *he* (was) ploughing:' this is equivalent to 'while he was ploughing,' where it will be observed that the italics for *he* are abandoned: so soon as the circumstantial clause is expressed by a conjunction, there is not generally any further need to emphasize the subject, the particular relation which the emphasis was intended to bring out being now represented sufficiently by the connecting particle.

As to the verb (if there be one) following the subject, it will naturally fall into the pf., impf., or partcp., according to the character of the circumstance to be described

and its relation in point of time to the action denoted by the verb in the primary sentence.

158. In the translation of circumstantial clauses there is considerable scope for variety. Sometimes the וְ may be rendered most simply and naturally *and*—the subordinate position of the fact thus introduced being manifest from the sense of the passage; but at other times it will be better, precisely as in the case of the participle in Greek or Latin, to make the meaning more evident by the adoption of some circumlocution such as *if, when, although, as, since*, etc., as the context requires.

159. Let us first consider some instances in which the conjunction appears:—Gen. 18, 12 וְאֵרְנִי זָקֵן *and my lord is old* = my lord *being old*. 18 וַיִּרְאֵהֶם הוּא יְהוָה *seeing that* (A. V.) Abraham etc. 24, 65 וַיְהִי וַיִּהְיֶה הַצֶּלֶיָּה הַרְבֵּי *and* (= *since*) Yahweh hath prospered my journey. 28, 12 וְרִאשׁוֹ וְרִאשׁוֹ הַצֶּלֶיָּה *the top thereof reaching to heaven*. Num. 16, 11 ^b *since or for what are we . . . ?* (justifying עַל יִי: so Ex. 16, 7). 24, 18 *while that* Israel doeth valiantly. Deut. 4, 11. 28, 32. 32, 31 *and* our enemies are judges (i. e. our own enemies *admitting* it). Ruth 1, 21 *why call ye me Naomi* בִּי וַיְהִי עָנָה *when or seeing* Yahweh hath testified against me? Josh. 3, 14 וְהַכֹּהֲנִים *the priests being* before the people. 15 ^b (may be most conveniently placed in a parenthesis: LXX ó δὲ Ἰορδάνης ἐπληροῦτο δὲ being used as Thuc. i. 93. 4 ὑπήρακτο δὲ κ.τ.λ., or as in the phrases σημεῖον δέ· δῆλον δέ· i. 11. 2 etc.). 8, 11 ^b. 1 Sam. 17, 3. Ps. 35, 5. 6. Hos. 6, 4 ^b *and* = *since* (or *for*, A. V.). Job 33, 19 Qri *while or though* the multitude of his bones is in vigour.

Gen. 11, 4 וְרִאשׁוֹ בְּשָׁמַיִם *with its top in the heavens*. 24, 10 al. בְּיָדוֹ . . . וְ *with . . . in his hand*. 44, 26. Deut. 9, 15 ^b. Isa. 35, 10. 43, 8 וְעַיִנִּים יֵשׁ *although* they have

eyes. 60, 11 ומלכיהם נהוגים Ps. 28, 3 וְרָעָה בְּלִבָּבְכֶם *while* or *though* mischief is in their hearts. 55, 22^a. 64, 7. Prov. 3, 28 וַיֵּשׁ אִתָּךְ; *it being* by thee. 12, 9. 15, 16.

A circumstantial clause begins but seldom with any word other than the subject, unless it be one adapted for, or demanding, a prominent position: Josh. 22, 25. Deut. 19, 6 ולו *whereas* . . . , A.V. 2 Sam. 13, 18 ועליה 16, 1. 2 Ki. 10, 2 ואהתכם Isa. 3, 7. 6, 6 וּבִירוֹ 23, 15 Del. וְנִשְׁבַּחְתָּ (ptcp. cf. Ezek. 9, 8, p. 109). Amos 7, 7. Ps. 60, 13; and with the emphatic word לֹא, 1 Sam. 20, 2 ולא יגלה את אזני *without* disclosing it to me. Isa. 45, 4. 5 *when* or *though* thou didst not know me. Ps. 44, 18 *though* we had not forgotten him. 139, 16. Job 9, 5. 24, 22 ולא יאמין *while* (or *though*) despairing of life. 42, 3 *though* I understood not. Often also in such phrases as ואין מפיל Ps. 7, 3 al. ואין מִחְרִיד *without any to frighten* Lev. 26, 6 al. ואין קבר 2 Ki. 9, 10.

160. The most instructive and noticeable instances, however, are those in which a *personal pronoun* forms the subject of the circumstantial clause: where this is the case, it is often even more impracticable than before to elicit a suitable or intelligible meaning without resolving the Hebrew idiom into some relational or participial construction. Thus Gen. 24, 31 ואנכי 62 והוא ישב *as* or *for* he was dwelling (assigning a *reason*, entirely different from וַיֵּשֶׁב 25, 11, where the ו introduces a new and independent statement). 37, 2 והוא נער *he being* a lad (*while yet* a lad, LXX ὡν νέος). Ex. 23, 9 *for ye* know. 33, 12 *thou sayest to me*, Bring up this people, ואתה לא הודעתני *without having* told me etc. Josh. 17, 14 *why hast thou* given me only a single lot, רב ואני עם רב *seeing* I am a great people? so 1 Sam. 18, 23. Judg. 3, 26 and Ehud escaped והוא עבר *he having passed over* etc. (not the mere addition

of a fresh fact like וַיַּעֲבֹר, but the justification of the preceding (נִמְלֵט). 4, 21 וְהָיָא נִרְדָּם (pf.) *he having* fallen fast asleep. 16, 31 *after having* judged. 1 Ki. 1, 41 וְהֵם פְּלִי *they having* finished. 2 Ki. 5, 18. Isa. 49, 21. 53, 4 *although* we thought him. 5 *but* HE (in reality, opposed to 4^b) etc. 7 (where the unemphatic 'and he was afflicted' is obviously inadequate to represent וְהוּא נֶעְנָה : the words must signify either '*he being* (already) afflicted,' or (Delitzsch) 'though suffering himself to be afflicted:' only in this way is a contrast with נִגְשׁ secured). 12 (not 'and he bare,' which must have been וַיִּסְבֵּל : the point is that he was numbered with transgressors, *although* actually so far from being one himself, that he had even borne the sin of others). Hos. 3, 1 *although* they turn. Ps. 50, 17 (in contrast to *v.* 16). 55, 22^b *being* (in reality) drawn swords. Job 21, 22 וְהוּא רַמִּים יִשְׁפּוֹט *while* or *when* HE judges those that are on high. 22, 18 *when* HE (of whom they had used the language quoted in *v.* 17) *had* all the time filled their houses with prosperity.

Obs. It must not, however, be supposed that *all* sentences framed like וְשֹׂאֵל אֲמִיר are circumstantial clauses: emphasis or the love of variety causes sometimes this form to be adopted in preference to וַיֹּאמֶר שֹׂאֵל; especially noticeable are those cases where, when statements have to be made respecting *two* subjects, the first having been introduced by וַ, the second is thrown into relief against the first by *the subject being placed before the verb*. This variation is the Hebrew equivalent to μέν . . . δὲ of the Greeks: in English the antithesis is not indicated by anything further than a slightly emphasized pronunciation.

Thus Gen. 4, 2 And Hébel was (or rather *became*—הָיָא is ἐγένετο, γίγνεται much more than ἦν, ἔστι) a shepherd, הָיָא וְקִין הָיָא but Qáyin was (became and continued to be) a tiller of ground. 3 f. 6, 8. 8, 5. 10, 8. 13. 15 (facts about the personages named *v.* 6, and so contrasted among each other). 11, 3^b. 13, 12. 18, 33.

Similarly when something has to be stated about a *new* subject, that subject is sometimes put first, though by no means exclusively, as Gen. 11, 12. 14 (contrast 13, 15), but in the exactly similar sentences 16. 18 etc. we have וְהָרַן הוֹלִיד 27^b: then 13, 14. 14, 18 etc.

A third case in which the same order of words is observed is for the purpose of introducing the mention of a new state of things, or new situation, which, while preparatory to what is to succeed, is in no immediate connexion with the preceding portion of the narrative. Those instances in which the fresh fact is one that is *anterior* to the point at which the main narrative has arrived, have been already adverted to and explained p. 102, where also an obvious reason was assigned for the abandonment upon such occasions of the more usual construction with וְ. Although, however, the new statement is introductory, and accordingly in a certain sense subordinate, to what follows, yet the subordination is not sufficient to create a formal circumstantial clause; moreover, the clause in question precedes instead of following the sentence it is supposed to qualify: in fact the change of form merely marks the commencement of a new thread which is afterwards interwoven with the narrative as a whole. The deviation from the usual style of progression, and also the significance of the new one adopted in its place, may be appropriately indicated in translation by the employment of *now*. Thus, in addition to the passages cited p. 102, see Gen. 16, 1 *now* Sarai, Abram's wife, had borne him no son (contrast 11, 30). 37, 3 *now* Israel loved. 39, 1. 43, 1. Ex. 13, 21. Josh. 13, 1.

The preceding remarks apply with no less force to those cases in which the subject is a *pronoun*, to sentences, for example, of a type so common in the Psalms, beginning with וְאֵנִי וְאֵתָּה etc. Although, in thus inserting the pronoun, it is always the intention of the writer to mark it as being in *some* way specially emphatic—either as denoting a *different* subject, which is to be contrasted with a previous one, or as introducing a fresh and emphatic statement about the *same* subject—yet the clause in which it appears need not of necessity be *subordinate* to what has preceded: its importance may render it *parallel* and *co-ordinate*, and in this case it cannot, of course, be regarded as a circumstantial clause. Thus Gen. 33, 3 *he himself* (in opposition to the persons named v. 2). 42, 8 ('but *they*'). 23 LXX αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἤδεισαν ὅτι ἀκούει (ἤκουε *was hearing*) Ἰωσήφ. 49, 19^b (a

fresh thought in contrast to 19^a). 20^b (pointing back emphatically to the subject אשר). Judg. 4, 3. 13, 5 (and *he*—however others may fail—will etc.: cf. Gen. 16, 12. Matth. 1, 21 *αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει κ.τ.λ.*). 18, 27. 1 Ki. 1, 13 *he* (and no one else: so *vv.* 24. 30. 35). 2, 8. 19, 4 (opposed to נָזְרוּ). Isa. 1, 2 והם (sons!). Ps. 2, 6 but *I* (however ye may rage). 5, 8. 9, 9. 13, 6. 31, 7^b (in contrast to השמרים). 15, 23. 37, 5. 106, 43 והמה ימרו but *they* (nevertheless, in spite of יצילים) kept rebelling.

The presence of the pronoun should always be noted in Hebrew, though it is sometimes difficult, without a careful study of the context, to discern the motive which prompted its insertion: let the reader examine for himself, with the view to discover in each instance what the motive may have been, the following passages:—Gen. 41, 15. Ex. 28, 5. Judg. 11, 35. 2 Sam. 19, 33 (see 17, 27). 1 Ki. 22, 32. 2 Ki. 4, 40. 12, 6. 19, 37. Ps. 109, 25. Isa. 24, 14¹.

In the same way sentences introduced by הַזֶּה form in general such an integral part of the narrative that they can hardly with fairness be termed circumstantial clauses: certainly they often indicate a state of things either already completed (*pf.*), continuing (*part.*), or about to commence (*impf.*), but the manner of their introduction by the particle הַזֶּה, and their occurrence usually after some verb of *seeing, ascertaining, perceiving*, shews that the stress lies not so much on the mere circumstance as such, but on *the impression it produces* upon the principal subject. The construction with הַזֶּה is preferred to that with ׀ for two reasons: 1. to mark the occurrence of an event more or less startling or noticeable for the subject; 2. to indicate with greater precision than is possible by ׀ alone the relation

¹ The pronoun is also expressed sometimes (as one of my reviewers points out) in *responses*, where although no special stress rests upon it, a slight prominence is evidently not unsuitable, as Judg. 6, 18. 11, 9: add 2 Sam. 3, 13. 1 Ki. 2, 18.

I take this opportunity of putting together some passages in which the pronoun (emphatic) *follows* the verb: Ex. 18, 19. 22. 26. Judg. 8, 23. 15, 12. 1 Sam. 17, 56. 20, 8. 22, 18. 23, 22 כי ערם יערים הוא (so Ex. 4, 14). 2 Sam. 12, 28 סָן אֵלֶכָּר אֲנִי. 17, 15 יַעֲצֵחֵי אֲנִי. Isa. 20, 6 (so 2 Ki. 10, 4). 43, 26. Jer. 15, 19. 17, 18 (so Ps. 109, 28). 21, 5 (so Lev. 20, 5. 26, 32). Ezek. 16, 60. 62.

as regards time of the new event to what precedes it in the sentence—whether, for instance, it is antecedent or simultaneous.

Thus Gen. 8, 13 and he looked *and behold* the face of the ground *had become* dry (LXX ἐξέλιπε had the writer used וייהרבו, the meaning would have been ambiguous, as the drying would have been naturally supposed to *succeed* the act of looking). 37, 7. 9 (observe the variations of tense). 42, 27. Deut. 9, 13 I see this people, *and behold* it is a stiff-necked people. Judg. 3, 25. 2 Ki. 2, 11 and often.

161. But clauses expressing a subordinate thought occur also without †: thus (1) Gen. 12, 8 and pitched his tent there *בית-אל* Bethel *being* on the west etc. 1 Sam. 26, 13 *רב המקום ביניהם*; and in such phrases as *אם על בָּנִים* Gen. 32, 12. *אֶל פְּנֵים אֶל פְּנֵים* 32, 31; Deut. 5, 5 *me stante*. Isa. 27, 16 *מוֹסְרֵךְ לָמוֹ* when thy chastisement is towards them. 60, 9. Ps. 32, 8 I will give counsel *עליך* with mine eye upon thee. 64, 9 and they (indef.) made each (of them) [= they were made, cf. 63, 11 *יניירו*] to stumble, *עלימו לשונם* their own tongue *being* against them. Job 20, 25^b (accents).

(2) With a participial determination of the subject¹ as the secondary predicate: Num. 16, 27 came forth *stationed* (or *so as to be* stationed). Judg. 1, 7. 8, 4 (cf. Ex. 26, 5^b). Jer. 2, 27. 23, 17. 41, 6. 43, 2. Ps. 7, 3. 78, 4 etc.; and preceding the verb, Gen. 49, 11. Ex. 13, 18 *והמשיים עלו*. Isa. 57, 19 creating the fruit of the lips, 'Peace, peace,' saith Yahweh etc. (i. e. in promising peace, he gives human lips the occasion to praise him). Ps. 10, 10 Kt. (*וְדַבְּרָה*).

¹ Which *we* should regard instinctively as in *apposition* with the subj.: inasmuch as Arabic, however, in (2) and (3) alike would employ regularly the *accusative* (defining the *state* of the subj. or obj., whilst the act is taking place: Wright, ii. pp. 123, 125, 129, 213, ed. 2), it is probable that the instances in Hebrew should be conceived as implicitly in the same case: cf. Del. on Hab. 2, 15; Aug. Müller, § 415 (who cites also Gen. 9, 20).

56, 2. 92, 14 LXX πεφτυτευμένοι . . . ἐξανθήσουσιν. Prov. 20, 14 Del. Ezek. 36, 35.

(3) The same principle with substantives or adjectives: Num. 32, 14. 1 Sam. 2, 18 נָעַר 33 ימותו אנשים shall die *as men*. Lev. 20, 20. Job 15, 7 wast thou *the first one born a man* (2 Sam. 19, 21). 19, 25 וְאַחֲרוֹן עַל עֵפֶר יָקוּם *as a last one* (= at the last) shall he arise etc. 24, 5. 10^b. 27, 19. 31, 26 Hitz. Isa. 21, 8. 65, 20 the youth shall die בֵּן מֵאָה בֶּן שָׁנָה *when* an hundred years old (cf. Gen. 17, 12).

Obs. 1. This construction of the ptc. is not so frequent as might be expected, in one large class of cases its place being filled by the 'gerundial' inf.:—לְאִמֶּר = λέγοντες. Only very seldom when standing alone is it preceded by וְ: 2 Sam. 13, 20. 1 Ki. 7, 7. Hab. 2, 10. Ps. 55, 20 (on 22, 29, see § 135. 6).

Obs. 2. Still rarer is the use of the participle to describe the contemporaneous condition of the *object* of a verb or preposition: see, however, Jer. 44, 26 אוֹמֵר כֹּל אִישׁ אֲדָמָה (comp. 14, 4 because of the earth (which) is *dismayed* (pf.). 2 Sam. 12, 21 וְהָיָה הַיֶּלֶד חַי 18, 14 לְצַקְלָג עוֹדוֹ לֵב לֵב אֲבִשְׁלָם עוֹדוֹ הִי LXX ἐτι αὐτοῦ ζῶντος). 1 Chr. 12, 1 וְעִצּוֹר עִצּוֹר 2 Ki. 10, 6 מְגִדְלִים 19, 2 מִתְכַּסִּים . . . וּשְׁלָחָה. Neh. 6, 17. In such cases (except after words like רָאָה, שָׁמַע, הִשִּׁיג, as Ex. 2, 11. 5, 20 (cf. 19). 14, 9. 23, 4) it is usual to prefix the pronoun (§ 160).

The ptc. is found referring to a *suffix*, 1 Ki. 14, 6 בָּאָה. Ps. 69, 4 *as* I wait (LXX ingeniously מִיַּחַל [and so Targ.], as 58, 6 מִיַּחַקָּם); cf. 107, 5. Job 9, 4. Isa. 44, 20. (Comp. Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* ii. pp. 47, 267 *bottom.*)

162. Now suppose the idea expressed by the participle has to be *negatived*, how is this accomplished? לֹא is not used with the ptc. except on the rarest occasions¹: אֵין, involving the addition of the pron. suffix, would be here

¹ It negatives it as an *attributive*, Jer. 2, 2 וְרוּעָה 18, 15 (so בלי 2 Sam. 1, 21. Hos. 7, 8); as a *predicate*, 4, 22. 2 Sam. 3, 34. Ps. 38, 15. Job 12, 3 וְנֹשֵׁל אֲנִי לֹא נֹשֵׁל אֲנִי (more pointed than נֹשֵׁל אֲנִי; cf. Ex. 4, 10: Ewald, § 320^b). Ezek. 22, 24. Deut. 28, 61 (בלי Ps. 19, 4), and esp. Num. 35, 23. Zeph. 3, 5; 1 Ki. 10, 21.

too periphrastic to be suitable: nothing remains, therefore, but to have recourse to *the finite verb*, either tense being chosen, as the sense may demand¹.

Thus Lev. 1, 17 **לא יבדיל** *without* dividing it. Ps. 21, 12 **לא יאמינו** (qualifying **חשבו**: § 34 *end*). Job 29, 24 **לא יוכלו** *when* or *if* they lacked confidence. 31, 34 not going out. Also in such phrases as **לא ידע**, **לא ידע**, **לא ידע** etc., or sometimes with the perfect, *without his* or *my knowing*, i. e. either unexpectedly, or without understanding, 1 Ki. 3, 7. Isa. 47, 11. Ps. 35, 8: cf. with **י**, § 159 *end*.

The *perfect* used similarly affords the only means by which our past partcp. active can be represented in Hebrew: Gen. 44, 4 **לא הרחיקו** (subordinate to **יצאו את העיר**) *without having* gone far. Ex. 34, 28. Lev. 13, 23 **לא פשטה** *without having* spread. Num. 30, 12 **לא הניא**. Deut. 21, 1 *it not being* known.

163. But the same use of the verb *ἀσυνδέτως* is likewise found even where there is no negative:—

Gen. 21, 14 and gave it to Hagar, **שם** *having placed* it on her shoulder. 44, 12 **החל** LXX excellently *ἀρξάμενος*. 48, 14. Josh. 11, 12. Judg. 6, 19 **שם**. 20, 31 **הנתקו**. 1 Ki. 7, 51 **נתן** (accents). 11, 27. 13, 18 (*ψευσάμενος αὐτῷ*). 18, 6 (cf. Num. 11, 32). Isa. 29, 13. Jer. 20, 15; Ps. 7, 7. 57, 4 **הרף**. 71, 3. 119, 126 **הפרו תורתך** (reason for 126^a).

And the impf.:—Ezek. 8, 5^b. 7^b. Num. 14, 3 *so that* or *while* our children will be a prey. Isa. 5, 11 *while* wine enflameth them. 27, 9 **לא יקומו**. 60, 11 **לא יסגרו**. Jer. 4, 7^b. 30 *beautifying* thyself in vain. 13, 16 Kt. **ישית**. 15, 9. 16, 6 etc. Ps. 103, 5. Job 30, 28 *surrexi lamentaturus*, Del.

¹ Even as an attributive, the partcp. must be *continued* by the finite verb, if a negative is involved: Ps. 78, 39. Ex. 34, 7.

Obs. Add also the *ἀσύνδετα*, Num. 21, 30 וַיִּנְיָקוּ אֶבְרָהָם וְהָשִׁיבוּן אֶבְרָהָם. Ezek. 17, 4^b. 19, 3. 5. 6. 12. Job 16, 8^a; 16, 8^b. 31, 34. 1 Sam. 13, 17. 18, 5 ישכיל. Jer. 15, 6; in the future, Ezek. 5, 2 (ולקחת . . . תכה). 24, 11 והם. Job 11, 18. Isa. 3, 26^b; and, where the first verb is a subsidiary one, 29, 4. 1 Sam. 20, 19 (read תִּפְקֹד with LXX: תָּרַד is not an idea that would be qualified by מאד).

Isa. 42, 21. Job 32, 22. Lam. 4, 14 the impf. is subordinated to a previous verb with a syntactical freedom better known in Arabic or Syriac (Wright, ii. § 8^d; Matth. 8, 28 Pesh. such that no man **تَعَبَّ** . . .; but more commonly with ?): Hebrew, in such cases (except when it throws the two verbs into the *same* tense, Hos. 1, 6. 5, 11. 6, 4. 9, 9. Jer. 13, 18), prefers almost invariably the infinitive.

Peculiar also is the union by ו in Gen. 30, 27 (ו). 47, 6 (cf. Job 23, 3 knew *so that* I might find him). Ct. 2, 3. Est. 8, 6 (*conv.*, p. 156).

164. The secondary predicate is often expressed in a short clause without a verb, introduced by אִין, בְּלִי etc.; so in the phrase אִין מִסְפָּר *without number*, Joel 1, 6 al. (and with ! Ps. 104, 25. 105, 34); Ex. 21, 11 אִין פֶּסֶף. 1 Ki. 22, 1; and, in the opposite order, Mic. 7, 1 אִין אֲשׁוּבָה לֹא אֲכַל *there being* no grape-clusters to eat, my soul etc.; Isa. 47, 1 אִין כֹּחַ. Hos. 7, 11. Ps. 88, 5 like a man אִין אֵיל *without* strength. Lam. 5, 3 Kt. Job 8, 11. 24, 10 naked, they walk up and down (Pi'el) בְּלִי לְבוּשׁ *without* covering. 34, 6 (cf. Ps. 59, 5); 12, 24 בְּתוֹךְ לֹא דֶרֶךְ in the *pathless* waste. 38, 26^a. 2 Sam. 23, 4 a morning לֹא עָבוֹת *without* clouds (or, idiomatically, *a cloudless* morning). This use of בְּלִי and לֹא, however, is confined to poetry, except in 1 Chr. 2, 30. 32 (Ewald, § 286^c).

Obs. אִין and בְּלִי are met with occasionally in prose (as well as poetry), but not בְּאִין (often in Prov.): וְאִין is, however, more common than אִין alone. The Chronicler has several times לֹא אִין, but in a manner peculiar to himself.

165. In almost all the preceding examples, the circum-

stantial clause has been *appended* to the principal sentence : we have, however, already met with a few instances in which a participial clause was prefixed (§ 161), and we shall soon find that such a position is by no means uncommon, or confined to the participle alone.

If we compare a sentence such as 1 Ki. 13, 20 with one like *v.* 23, we shall at once see that the participial clause **הֵם יֹשְׁבִים** in the former is, in position and force, the precise counterpart of the adverbial clause **וְגַּם אֶתְּחַרְי אֶכְלֹוּ וְגַּם** in the latter ; and that like it, it notifies a circumstance strictly subordinate to the main narrative, in a manner exactly reproducible in Greek by the use of the gen. abs. (LXX *καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καθημένων κ. τ. λ.*). The participle as thus used is frequent, especially in the historical books : from the analogy of the corresponding expressions in the classical languages, it may be appropriately termed *the participle absolute*.

Thus Gen. 42, 35 and it came to pass, **הֵם מְרִיקִים** *as they were emptying* their sacks, that they found etc. 2 Ki. 2, 11. 8, 5 LXX *αὐτοῦ ἐξηγουμένου*. If it is required to express *past* time, the perfect naturally takes the place of the participle :—Gen. 27, 30 and it came to pass, **אֵת יַעֲזָב יַעֲזָב יַעֲקֹב** Jacob *having* only just gone out, that Esau his brother came in. Josh. 4, 18 **נִתְקַן**. 2 Ki. 12, 7^b. And add Gen. 15, 17 **וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בָּאָה**, a passage in which the *perfect* makes it evident (quite apart from considerations of gender) that **וַיְהִי** must not be taken closely with **הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ** : rather ‘and it came to pass, *the sun having gone down* ;’ similar, perhaps, are *v.* 12 ‘and it came to pass, **הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לְבוֹא** *the sun being about to go down*, that’ etc. Josh. 2, 5 **וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לְסַנֵּר**. Compare also Gen. 24, 15. 2 Ki. 8, 21 **וַיְהִי הוּא קָם לַיְלָה וַיָּכַח** (which seems to shew that in the

parallel 2 Chr. 21, 9 ויהי קם לילה ויך the construction is similar, קם (pf.) = *having arisen*). 20, 4. Jer. 37, 13. 1 Chr. 15, 29.

Obs. It should, however, be noted that in several of the passages last cited, the accents closely unite ויהי to the word following, so that at least by the punctuators they were probably understood differently: thus 2 Ki. 8, 21 (like ויהי בונה Gen. 4, 17). 20, 1 and Isaiah was—he had not gone out etc. (cf. Isa. 22, 7 and *there are thy choicest valleys—they are filled with chariots*). Comp. § 121. *Obs.* 2.

The analogous construction in the future is found Josh. 22, 18. 1 Ki. 18, 12.

166. In the instances cited the participle may fairly be held to express a circumstantial clause. But what are we to say of those instances in which no ויהי precedes, such as 1 Ki. 14, 17 וְהִנֵּעַר מִתּוֹ הָיָא בְּאֵה וְהִנֵּעַר מִתּוֹ הָיָא בְּאֵה, or Gen. 44, 3 וְהִנֵּעַר מִתּוֹ הָיָא בְּאֵה וְהִנֵּעַר מִתּוֹ הָיָא בְּאֵה? Doubtless, they *might* be explained upon the same principle, the ׀, as in § 128, marking the apodosis. Still, this use of ׀ is decidedly exceptional, and it must be admitted that, as one *reads* the sentences in question, such an explanation appears unnatural and strained; in fact, the first clause *sounds* as though it were *parallel* to the second, not subordinate. And had the writer wished to express this subordination, he could readily have written וְהִנֵּעַר מִתּוֹ הָיָא בְּאֵה וְהִנֵּעַר מִתּוֹ הָיָא בְּאֵה (or, preserving the same order, § 78. 3, וְהִנֵּעַר מִתּוֹ הָיָא בְּאֵה). As a general rule, a time- or place-determination takes certainly a secondary position: but is it necessary that it should do so always? may it not be sometimes intended by placing it on an independent footing, and so arresting the mind for a moment on what is ordinarily a mere passing detail, to confer some additional vividness upon the scene described? And certainly the rendering ‘as

soon as the morning dawned, the men were sent away' does not at all reproduce the *effect* made upon the ear by the words of the original; whereas, in the more literal, 'the morning dawned, and the men were sent away,' the same antithetical structure is still retained, and the two clauses still balance one another with the same rhythmical precision.

167. And in fact, even in Greek and Latin, time-determinations do not by any means occupy always a subordinate position: in graphic or elevated writing particularly they are often placed on one and the same level with the rest of the narrative. A few instances are worth citing:—Il. xix. 1–3. Dem. *de cor.* § 218 ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείδηπται' how much fuller and richer the picture, than if the orator had simply said, ἑσπέρας γὰρ ἦκεν ἀγγέλλων τις κ.τ.λ., or employed a word like ἐπειδή! Soph. Phil. 354 ff. ἦν δ' ἡμαρ ἤδη δεύτερον πλείοντί μοι Κἀγὼ πικρὸν Σίγειον οὐρίῳ πλάτῃ Κατηγόμην. Thuc. i. 50. 6 ἤδη δ' ἦν ὄψε' καὶ ἐπεπαιώνιστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἑξαπίνης πρῦμναν ἐκρούοντο' iv. 69. 3. Hdt. iii. 108 *end.* iv. 181. 5 μεσαμβρίη τέ ἐστι, καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίγνεται ψυχρόν, 'it is noon, and the water becomes quite cold.' 6 παρέρχονταί τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἡῶ. Liv. xliiii. 4 'vixdum ad consulem se pervenisse, et audisse oppidum expugnatum' etc. Verg. Georg. ii. 80 Conington, 'nec longum tempus, et ingens Exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos.' Aen. iii. 9 and often.

168. But it will be objected, If this be all, why the peculiar form assumed in the passages in question, which in others becomes even more striking still, as 1 Sam. 9, 11¹

¹ Cf. Hdt. iii. 76. 2 ἐν τε δὴ τῇ ὄψῃ μέση στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὰ περὶ Πηρῆσπια γεγυρότα ἐπυνθάνοντο.

וְהָמָּה עֲלֵימָּה . . . וְהָמָּה מִצָּאוֹ? why, if nothing more be intended by the writer, was he not satisfied with the more simple and obvious form וְיַעֲלֵי . . . וְיַמְצֵאוֹ? (cf. § 149 *n.*) The answer is evident. Such a form, being wholly devoid of emphasis, would not have suited his purpose. He wishes to mark as forcibly as he can the time at which a given event took place, *with reference to another event*. In order to do this, he makes the latter prominent, by *elevating* it from the lower position it commonly holds, and causing it to *confront* the former as conspicuously and decidedly as the language will permit. In the passages from the Iliad and Demosthenes this antithetical relation is indicated by the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu . . . \delta\acute{\epsilon}$: in Hebrew it can only be expressed by the position of the two subjects—both, contrary to the usual custom (at least with nouns) by which the *verb* stands first, being placed in the foreground. Thus in $\text{וְהַנֶּעֱרַר מֵת בָּאָה וְהַנֶּעֱרַר מֵת}$ two actions belonging to *different* subjects, in $\text{וְהָמָּה עֲלֵימָּה מִצָּאוֹ}$ two actions of the *same* subject are thrown into strong contrast with each other: and the special relation they are intended to bear to one another is made keenly palpable.

169. We may now collect the principal passages in which this construction is employed:—Gen. 38, 25 $\text{וְהוּא שְׁלַחָה מוֹצֵאת וְהִיא שְׁלַחָה}$ she *was being* brought forth, when she sent etc., LXX $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon$, A. V. ‘when she was brought forth, she sent,’ which though expressing generally the *sense* of the original, does not bring before the mind, with equal clearness, the picture וְהוּא מוֹצֵאת , upon which the writer dwells. Judg. 18, 3; and with a change of subject, 19, 11. 1 Sam. 20, 36 $\text{וְהוּא יָרָה רִיץ וְהוּא יָרָה}$. 2 Sam. 20, 8. 2 Ki. 2, 23. 4, 5. 9, 25¹.

¹ What are we to do with 10, 12 f. $\text{וְיָהוּא מִצָּא עֵקֶד בֵּית עֵקֶד}$. . .

We find עֹד in the first clause, Gen. 29, 9 עֹדנו מדבר 9, ורחל באה he was still speaking, *when* Rachel entered in. Num. 11, 33 (cf. Job 8, 12 . . . ולפני . . . עֹדנו). Ps. 78, 30 f. 1 Ki. 1, 22. 42 (cf. of future time *v.* 14). 2 Ki. 6, 33. Dan. 9, 20 f.; and וְהָיָה in the second clause. 1 Sam. 9, 14. 17, 23. Job 1, 18^b-19.

If the sense demands it, a *perfect* may of course stand in the first clause:—Gen. 19, 23. 44, 3. 4 הם יצאו ויוסף אמר they had gone out of the city, *and* (or *when*) Joseph said. Judg. 3, 24 הוא יצא ועבדיו באו now *he* had gone out, when his servants came in. 20, 39 f. 2 Sam. 2, 24 al.; cf. also Gen. 7, 6. 19, 4. 24, 45, and above, § 128¹.

where the pronoun *followed* by the subject to which it refers is unparalleled? I am inclined to think that for ויהוא we ought to read ויהו: the change is very slight, and would bring the passage into complete conformity with Judg. 18, 3 etc.

¹ Ewald adds Judg. 7, 19. 2 Sam. 11, 4, in both places neglecting the *athnach*, and supposing the second clause to be introduced exceptionally by ו. Of 2 Sam., also, he says, 'das *part.* dem sinne nach beinahe schon einem *part. perf.* im Griechischen entspricht:' but if the author had intended to convey such an idea of past time, would he not have written וְהָיָה וְהָיָה מִשְׁמַאֲתָהּ וְהָיָה שָׁבָה?

From § 161. *Obs.* 2 it will be plain that the idiomatic equivalent of καὶ ἐλιθοβόλουν τὸν Στέφανον ἐπικαλούμενον is ויסקלו את-סם' והוא (מִן-הִירֹדֶן). 35 לא הרעילו מאומה קרא (§ 163). Compare the renderings in Delitzsch's version.

APPENDIX II.

On the Use of the Jussive Form.

170. THE use of the modal forms in Hebrew, particularly of the jussive, presents great difficulties to the grammarian. These difficulties would certainly in great measure vanish, if it could be legitimately supposed that the modal forms were destitute of any special significance, being assumed for 'euphony' or as 'poetical licences' etc., or (in the case of the cohortative *-ah*) being merely 'paragogic;' that, consequently, their presence might be disregarded, and the tenses translated, if need be, in the manner of mere imperfects. But the multitude of instances occurring in the Old Testament, in which the meaning of these forms is clear and unambiguous, forbids such a supposition,—at least unless we are prepared to shew that a particular author wrote incorrectly, or adopted some local style, or else that he lived during a period at which the forms in question had lost¹ their customary

¹ I observe that Olshausen, § 257^a, p. 571, makes the same suggestion: the forms in question, however, meet us in passages which present no other indication of a late date, and indeed give no ground for assuming it—even Ewald and Hitzig are content to assign Ps. 11, for example, to David. There are some traces, in the regular verb, of a parallel—perhaps an older—formation of the Hif'il with *šere* in

significance. We are seldom in a position which enables us to do this: the result is, that since the cases are too numerous to favour the hypothesis of a corrupt text, grammarians have been driven to the adoption of every kind of expedient in order to overcome the disagreement existing between the meaning apparently forced upon them by the form, and that which the context seems to demand.

171. Before proceeding further, however, it will be desirable to give a synopsis of the passages in which the difficulty is most seriously felt, including a few which, though they have been cited elsewhere¹, are still worth some reconsideration.

Lev. 15, 24 יתהי. Deut. 32, 8 יצב. 18 תשׁי. Isa. 12, 1 ישב. 27, 5 יחזק. או יחזק. 42, 6 יאחזק. 63, 3 ויז. Ezek. 14, 7 ויעל. Hos. 6, 1 יה. 11, 4 ואט. Joel 2, 20 ותעל. Mic. 3, 4 ויסתר. Zeph. 2, 13 וישם . . . ויט. Ps. 11, 6 ימטר. 12, 4 יכרת. 25, 9 ידרה. 47, 4 ידבר. 58, 5 יאטם. 68, 15 תשלג. Prov. 15, 25 ויצב. 23, 25 ותגל. Job 13, 27 ותשם. 15, 33 וישלף. 17, 2 תלו . . . י. 18, 9 יחזק. 12 יהי. 20, 23 וימטר . . . יהי. 26 ירע. 28 יגל. 23,

the ultima instead of *chireq* (such are יעשרנו 1 Sam. 17, 25, מוצא Ps. 135, 7, לעשר Deut. 26, 12, בהנחל 32, 8; see Kalisch, ii. p. 177): but, as Olshausen remarks, this circumstance will not explain the occurrence of the jussive form without (apparently) the jussive meaning in other verbs, as יהי: cf. likewise Ewald, § 131^b. And the same objection will hold against the suggestion that ימטר may be falsely pointed for ימטר etc.: although there is no question that the Hif'il is frequently written 'defectively' (as יעשר Ps. 49, 17: further instances will be found in Kalisch, l. c.), forms like יהי, ירא, יגל, in which the mood is indicated by the *letters*, are too obstinate to admit of any such easy or rapid alteration.

¹ Cf. §§ 50^a, 58, 84, 121 *Obs.*, 155 *Obs.*

9. וְלֹא אָחֳזוּ: II. וְלֹא אָטוּ: 24, 14 יְהִי . . . 25. וַיִּשֶׂם. 27, 8
 וַיִּסְתֵּר. 34, 29 יִשָּׁר. 27. יִכַּל. 21. וַיִּשֶׂם. II. 33, 11. וַיִּשְׁלַח. 22. בִּי יִשְׁלַח.
 37. וַיִּרְבֵּן. 36, 14. תִּכְמוֹת. 15. וַיִּנְגַל. 38, 24. יִפִּיז. 39, 26. וַיִּבְרֶגְנֵן.
 40, 19. יִגֹּשׁ. Lam. 3, 50. וַיִּרְאֵה עַד יִשְׁקִיף וַיִּרְאֵה. Qoh. 12, 7. וַיֵּשֶׁב (also
 after עַד). Dan. 8, 12. וַתִּשְׁלַח, and several times in Dan. II
 (vs. 4. 10. 16-19. 25. 28. 30); and a few times after לֹא
 (§ 50 a, *Obs.*).

172. The passages here collected are in many ways very dissimilar; and the reader should examine each separately by itself. In some, for instance, there is no reason why the verbs should not be understood strictly as jussives: so Zeph. 2, 13 (§ 50). Ps. 11, 6. 12, 4 (where there is nothing to suggest a historical reference, § 84). Others, as Lev. 15. Ezek. 14 (who separates himself *that he should* cherish his idols in his heart). Mic. 3. Dan. 8. Prov. 23. Job 24, 25, in all of which the infin. with ל might be substituted for the jussive and ׀ without appreciable alteration in sense (cf. p. 81 *top*, and Job 9, 33 where, as Del. remarks, יִשָּׁת is equivalent in meaning to לְיִשָּׁת), belong naturally to § 62; and the two passages with עַד might be accounted for on the ground of the *final* force implied in that conjunction. The difficulty lies rather with those which, as it seems, involve merely the statement of a fact, and in which, therefore, the verb is jussive in form only, and not in meaning. One solution here proposed is that ׀ is omitted, or replaced by ׀. This is adopted by Ewald, §§ 233^a, 343^b, and Dillmann (on Job 13, 27. 33, 21), and is extended by Hitzig (see his notes on Ps. 8, 7. 11, 6 etc.) so as to include even cases like Ps. 58, 5 (for וַיֵּאמֶם, ׀ being the continuation of the attributive חָרַשׁ: cf. § 117, p. 163), and 68, 15 (׀ following a time-determination, according to § 127 β). Böttcher,

on the other hand, adhering to the idea of a real jussive, ii. p. 183, goes so far as to affirm that this mood may express 'das übel empfundene *muss* des fremden Eigenwillens Ij. xiii. 27. xxxiii. II. xxiv. 14. xxxiv. 37:' but how such a reversal of its ordinary meaning is possible, it is as difficult to comprehend as in the case of the cohortative, pp. 66-68. The former solution is doubtless correct in principle, though it seems a little far-fetched to have recourse to it, in the manner suggested, for Ps. 58 and 68; its truth has been already recognized, § 83, and it only remains to enquire whether any more specific ground can be alleged for the choice of the apocopated form in preference to the ordinary imperfect.

Obs. The theory which formerly satisfied me was that the jussive denoted primarily the idea of an indefinite possibility, which, though usually superseded by the derived idea of a wish, was still to be traced in the passages under discussion. This view is alluded to above, p. 61, but I feel now constrained to abandon it: the ordinary opinion (p. 60) on the origin of the jussive is strongly supported by the parallelism in form between it and the imperative; and some other considerations influencing me I have since been persuaded were insufficient¹.

¹ In sentences of a type constantly occurring in Arabic, 'If good befallth you, it grieveth them; and if ill lighteth upon you, they rejoice at it,' 'if they were to see all kinds of signs, they would not believe in them,' 'if he wills, he could make you pass away' (Qor'an 3, 68. 95. 116. 121. 142. 6, 25. 69. 116. 133 etc.; Wright, ii. §§ 13, 17), in which *all* the verbs are regularly jussives, the jussive sense, though incompatible in the protasis with the English *if*, becomes intelligible if, as Professor Aug. Müller points out, the nature of the Semitic conditional particles be considered. These, in all probability, had originally a demonstrative force: and thus the sentences quoted are substantially of the type explained § 151 *Obs.*, the demonstrative particle merely *pointing to* the protasis, and so rendering it more

173. It may be observed in most of the instances in question that the abbreviated form stands at the *beginning of a clause*. Now this is just the position that would be occupied by the same form if it were preceded by $\cdot\aleph$: it seems allowable therefore to suppose that (e. g.) \aleph was retained primarily as a reminiscence of the normal \aleph . At the same time, from the manner in which it was used with $\cdot\aleph$, the shorter form must have become strongly associated with the idea of a connexion with what precedes; and the desire to preserve some expression of this suggests itself as another motive contributing probably towards its retention. But, when it stands later in the sentence, where $\cdot\aleph$ would be out of place, and where it was no longer the Hebrew custom to give *formal* expression to that connexion, the impf. appears in its usual form: e. g. Job 13, 27 \aleph , but 23, 6 \aleph ; 18, 9 \aleph , but 8, 15 \aleph ; 34, 29 \aleph , but \aleph , the connexion with \aleph being broken by the emphatic \aleph . Thus the poets who in descriptive passages allowed themselves the use of this terse and pointed form, did so with reserve, and under certain conditions only. The other passages cited § 84

distinct—'see, there, let him will! he would etc.' = 'if he wills, he would.' The occurrence of the same mood after \aleph *man*, 'whoso,' as 'whoso believes (juss.) in God, he will forgive (juss.) him,' 'whom God wills, he misleadeth' (Qor. 3, 17. 27. 79. 138 f. 60, 9), may be similarly accounted for. And should this explanation not be deemed satisfactory, recourse may still be had to that of Nöldeke (GGA. 1868, p. 1141), who supposes that the apocopated form in the protasis after 'in is to be attributed to the same cause which most probably produced it after *lam* (above, p. 95), and that then the verb in the apodosis assumed the same form *aus dem Streben nach Congruenz zwischen den beiden Hälften der Periode*.

¹ On the punctuation \aleph , see § 84 a.

will admit of the same explanation, though we must beware of applying it to cases where the reference is to the future, or where for any other reason וְ could not have stood (e. g. Job 24, 25, where וַיִּשָּׂם could evidently not follow מִי יִבְזִיבֵנִי).

Obs. Ps. 58, a sense of the connexion between the relative clause and its antecedent may perhaps, through an indistinctly felt analogy with the connexion expressed by וְ, have determined the punctuation יִשָּׂם: and possibly a similar explanation may be adopted for the same form, after an inf. with ב, in the two passages Ps. 68, 15. Deut. 32, 8. Why it should occur after כִּי Job 27, 8 (if the text be correct), and after לֵא, must remain obscure, unless we may suppose it due to the influence of those particles operating in the manner of אֵל, p. 94, or *lam*, p. 95; but it is remarkable that, if this be the case, it should not have been so exerted more frequently.

174. Of the remaining passages, Deut. 32, 18 תִּשִׂי must of course come from שָׁיָה (like יָחִי from חָיָה): as, however, the Semitic languages know only נָשָׂה and שָׁהָה (= سَهَى Qor. 51, 11) in the sense of *forget*, it is possible that the text is incorrect, and that we should, with Olsh. p. 511 and A. Müller, restore תִּנְשָׂה. Job 17, 2 is doubtless 'so that mine eye *resteth*' (§ 62), which *from the connexion* is equivalent to 'and my eye *must rest*:' 20, 23 is very difficult; should it be explained by § 152? 20, 26. 28. 33, 11. 21. 34, 37 will belong to § 84; 23, 9. 11. 24, 14 appear to be isolated examples of *tnesis* (cp. § 85); 36, 14, see § 64 *Obs.*; 39, 26 the shorter form may be due to the *maqṣeph*, cf. Ex. 22, 4; and 40, 19 A. V. is probably substantially correct, lit. 'let him that made him *bring* his sword *nigh* to him!' (for none else can do so.)

175. Isa. 12, 1 וַתִּנְחַמְנִי followed by יֵשֶׁב I cannot translate except as a prayer (cf. 55, 7. Judg. 7, 3. Ps. 71, 21); and this I believe to have been the intention of the punc-

tuators (comp. the fut. of the Targ.); if we desiderate a *past* sense, we ought surely to read וְתִנְחַמְנִי (Ps. 90, 3). Isa. 27, 5 receives light from an Arabic idiom¹, 'or else let him take hold' etc. = 'unless he take hold' (Germ. 'es sei denn dass man meinen schutz ergriffe'). 42, 6 is analogous to Hos. 11, 4: unless these are wrongly intended as futures (the special force of the jussive having been disregarded), they belong to § 84 a, though the punctuation with ׀ still commends itself (followed in Hosea by a bare impf. as Jer. 15, 6, § 163 *Obs.*). But 63, 3 וְיִּי is almost certainly a mispunctuation for וְיִי (observe the following *perfect*, אֲנִי־אֱלֹהִי) originating in the two preceding verbs being supposed incorrectly to relate to the future. Hos. 6, 1 may be referred, without hesitation, to § 84 β, ׀ being parallel to, and determined by, טָרַף.

Obs. Joel 2, 20 וְחָזַל is extremely difficult: the reference being clearly to the future, ׀ cannot be regarded as a substitute for ׀: the form must, therefore, be that of a real jussive, but this, *after the previous* בְּאִשׁוֹ וְעֵלָה, whether it be rendered *and let . . . or that . . . may*, seems unsuited to the context. We are almost constrained to suspect an error in the reading; though the excision of בְּאִשׁוֹ וְעֵלָה as a gloss, proposed by Merx, perhaps weakens the latter part of the v. too much to be probable. In Dan. 11 (where, for the same reason, ׀ cannot be in place of ׀), unless the reader thinks he can still trace the notion of a consequence or result, we may be content to suppose that the mood was used without any recollection of its distinctive signification. It is strange that Dr. Pusey (*Daniel*, p. 587) should accept Ewald's classification, § 343^c, as decisive or satisfactory. A distinction ought surely to be made between such cases as Isa. 19, 20. Ezek. 33, 31, where the verb after ׀ is the simple imperfect, and

¹ Where, however, the *subjunctive* mood is employed (cf. for a similar variation, p. 81): Ewald, § 629; Wright, ii. § 15 (6), 'I will certainly kill the unbeliever אוּ יִסְלַם unless he become a Muslim.'

those like Joel 2, 20, where it is jussive : the former, though less usual, present no real difficulty (see § 134), it is the latter which embarrass us. Dr. Pusey says, 'the condensation of this idiom, the use of the apocopated form, with the simple *and*, shews there is great emphasis in it :' but by what process can a wish or command, such as we know to be signified by the apocopated imperfect, be transformed into a mere expression of emphasis? Certainly the jussive, like the imperative, is sometimes employed in a rhetorical style with brilliancy and effect ; but then, as we saw §§ 56-58, it retains its rightful force, and, in fact, would not be effective unless it did retain it : in the instances alleged, however, its proper meaning is taken from it, and a *different* meaning, incompatible with, and *not derivable from*, the meaning borne elsewhere, is substituted in its place. Such substitution does not appear defensible : it is preferable, therefore, here to acquiesce in the solution proposed above—a solution which has at least the advantage of being in agreement with a known principle of language.

APPENDIX III.

On Arabic as Illustrative of Hebrew.

176. In few departments of knowledge has the 'comparative' method of enquiry been more fruitful of valuable and interesting results than in the investigation of the phenomena presented by language. What that method is, and, at least in so far as regards the Aryan languages, what some of the more important of the results alluded to are, will be familiar to most English readers from the well-known volumes of Professor Max Müller, or the more recent work of Professor Sayce, in which the principles of Comparative Philology are at once lucidly set forth and abundantly illustrated. A general acquaintance may, therefore, be presupposed with the character, for example, of the cumulative evidence by which the direct or collateral genealogical relationship, subsisting between the languages belonging to a given family, may be established, with the nature of the successive modifications a language may undergo, with the laws which regulate the particular and distinctive form assumed in each by the same word, and with the mutual illustration which languages thus allied afford of one another.

177. The same method is, however, no less applicable to the Semitic family of speech than to the Aryan. A merely superficial comparison of the vocabulary and

accidence—to say nothing of the syntax—is sufficient to reveal the fact that all the Semitic languages are intimately connected with one another, and that the nations speaking them must, at some period or other, have dwelt together in a common home¹: more accurate and systematic research shews that none of them can lay claim to *exclusive* priority above the rest, as being the one from which the others are derived (in the same manner, for instance, as the Romance languages are derived from Latin), but that they are the descendants of a deceased ancestor, whose most prominent characteristics, though with different degrees of clearness and purity, they all still reflect. Each after its separation from the parent stock pursued a path of its own, some, as it would seem,

¹ Where was this common home? and what degree of civilization had been attained by the Semitic race before successive migrations spread it over the greater part of S.W. Asia? The method which has been long since applied in the case of the Aryan family (Mommson, *Hist. of Rome*, ch. ii. p. 15 ff.; Sayce, *Science of Language*, ii. pp. 121–138), has recently been resorted to with the view of answering this question; if the terms which are common to all branches of the family, and at the same time bear no trace of having been *borrowed* by one branch from another in historical times, be carefully compared, those relating to the different arts will afford some criterion of the civilization reached by them while still living together in their common home, and those denoting animals, natural products, etc., provided we can ascertain independently the region in which they are specially abundant, or indigenous, will enable us to form at least a *probable* conclusion respecting its site. Pursuing this line, Professor Ignazio Guidi, in a memoir, *Della Sede primitiva dei Popoli Semitici* (Roma, 1879), has shewn that a number of different indications, not indeed amounting to a demonstration, but still, as he urges, scarcely to be dismissed as entirely fallacious, converge in favour of lower Babylonia.

through long years preserving almost intact many of the features they originally possessed; others, on the contrary, lopping these off, or else assimilating them, with greater or less rapidity. It is just in virtue of this *uneven development* of language, just in virtue of the fact that what is mutilated and obscured in one language is frequently in another language of the same family retained in a relatively unimpaired condition, and transmitted so into historical times, that the explanation of one by the other is still possible, even when the relationship lies no longer in a direct line.

178. Are there, it will be asked, any principles, analogous to those embodied in 'Grimm's Law,' regulating the interchange of consonants between the different Semitic languages? A full and systematic comparison of these languages belongs still to the future; the notices in Gesenius' *Thesaurus* are in this respect often far from adequate, and are even sometimes stated in a form calculated to mislead¹; so that, though it is clear that some principles exist, it is frequently difficult to obtain any but a vague conception of their real nature and limits. Yet it is just here that precision is essential: if reckless etymologizing is to be avoided, these principles must be kept clearly and steadily in view; when this is done, we are

¹ The interchange of allied sounds in different dialects must be distinguished from the use of allied sounds—or groups of sounds—to express *allied ideas* in the *same* dialect: e.g. a harder or softer palatal or dental, as סגר and סנר, מוג and מסך, גוז and קצץ, ננס and גנו. These instances shew further how in a language particular sounds go together and determine each other: 'גו', 'קצ', 'נס', for example, but not 'גצ'. So in Mandaic 'קט' becomes regularly 'נט'; 'טט' becomes 'צט'.

in a position to test the value of a proposed derivation, and may even be able to fix the relationship of an outlying form, as when Lagarde completes the identification, suggested by J. D. Michaelis in 1792, of צעיה¹. The contributions of Nöldeke, in his *Mandäische Grammatik* (1875), are perhaps the best example of the method in which such a comparison should be instituted, and of the systematic classification which must accompany it.

The following specimen-lists exhibit, in a tabular form, some important and clearly established laws: the first is derived chiefly from Lagarde, *Semitica* I (Gött. 1878), pp. 22-27, and shews that when Heb. צ = Aram. ע, the Arabic equivalent is ض.

(1) In 'Anlaut:'

صَانٌ	=	צאן	=	צא, נחם.
صَبْرٌ to gather	=	צָבַר (Gen. 41, 49)	=	כַּחֲסֵהוּ ² corn.
bundles				

صَبِطٌ firmiter tenuit	=	צבט Ruth 2, 14	=	حط ³ .
صَحَاكٌ	=	צחק	=	حسو (for حسه).
صَرَّةٌ one of two wives	=	צרה 1 Sam. 1, 6	=	حنا 1 Sam. 1, 6.
* * *	=	צמר	=	حصا wool.
صَاقٌ Qor. 9, 119	=	צק	=	حکم, עק (Isa. 49, 20 Targ.).

Where there is already ע in the root, Syriac avoids the double guttural by substituting ʿ:—

صَلَعٌ	=	צלע	=	ʿחל (Ch. ʿעלע).
صَفَدَعٌ	=	צפרדע	=	ʿסודח (Chald. ʿעודען).

¹ By Gesenius, at least apparently, connected with עטף.

² The roots, not the particular word or form cited, are compared.

³ Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.* p. 43.

صَبَّغَ *hyaena* = צָבַעַם, צָבַעַי = ʾفُحَا Sir. 13, 18.
 ضعف III *duplicavit*, = [צָעַף¹] = ʾحُفَا double, Isa.
 Qor. 2, 263: ضَعَّفَ 38, 61 40, 2.

(2) In 'Inlaut:'

رَصَا = רָצָה = ʾرُحَا.
 وَصَّأ *nituit, emicuit*² = ʾيَصَّأ = ʾتُحَا (used of
plants).

(3) In 'Auslaut:'

أَرْضَ = אֶרֶץ = ʾرُحَا.
 بَيْضَةً *ovum* = בֵּיצָה = ʾبَحَا.
 حمض = חָמִיץ = ʾسَعَصَ, ʾחָمַע Ex.
 12, 34. 39.
 رِئِض = רִבִּיץ = ʾرُحَا Gen. 29, 2
 Tg. and Pesh.
 رِئِض = רִבִּיץ = ʾرُحَا Isa. 36, 6.
 مَرِضٌ *aeger fuit* = מָרִיץ³ = ʾمَرِضٌ⁴.
 * * * = מָרִיץ, מָרִיץ = ʾمَرِضٌ.
 قَضٌ *divulsit* = قָضַץ = ʾقَضٌ⁴ Isa. 59,
 5 for בקעו).
 قَبَضٌ *prehensit* = קָבַץ = ʾمَحَضٌ⁴.

And with avoidance of the double guttural:—

عَرَصَ *contigit* = * * * = ʾعَرَصَ (Ch. ʾעָרַע).
 * * * = ʾעָרַעַת *hornet* = ʾאִרְעִיתָא Ex. 23,
 28 Ps.-Jon. (ʾעָרַעִיתָא Onk.).

¹ Whence צָעַף Gen. 24, 65, properly, as Lagarde shews, some square garment. The adv. ʾحَسَالًا occurs 2 Cor. 1, 15.

² Comp. צָמַח, in Syriac *splenduit* (ʾحَسَالًا = ἀπαύγασμα, Heb. 1, 3), but in Heb. and Chaldee, *germinavit*. See also Ges. *Thes.* p. 56^a.

³ Job 16, 3. 1 Ki. 2, 8. Mic. 2, 10.

⁴ Nöldeke, ZDMG. xxxii. p. 406.

1 *عضة* = צָע = צָע.
مَخَصَّ concussit = מָחַץ = מָחַץ (for מָחַץ)².

Instances, however, also occur of the series צ = צ = צ; as *ضمد*, *צמד*, *צמד*, *צמד*, *צמד*, *צמד*; and *חצי* occurs by the side of *חצי*, *חצי* beside *חצי*, *חצי* (Ps. 74, 14 for *חצי*) beside *חצי*. Examples of the frequent צ = צ = צ need not be given.

Another series is צ = צ = צ: thus—

(1) *دورcas ظبيّ* = דָּוְרָא, דָּוְרָא 2 Sam. = דָּוְרָא.
 I, 19

ظهيراً Qor. 24, = בְּיָהָרָא, בְּיָהָרָא = בְּיָהָרָא.
 57: cf. *ظاهراً conspicuus*, 34, 16

* * * = צָוָה (צָוָה) Deut. = צָוָה.
 II, 4)

ظل shade = חָלַל = צָלַל (צָלַל)³.
ظليغ = חָלַל Gen. 32, 32 = צָלַל to halt.
 Onk. and Ps.-Jon.

ظلم to oppress = חָלַל, חָלַל = * * *⁴
ظمى = * * * = צָמָא.

ظعن to break up, = חָסַח *sustulit* = צָעַן Isa. 33, 20.
move quarters, Qor. 16, 82

¹ Nöldeke, l. c.

² מָחַץ and מָחַץ will therefore be the same word, the former being the genuine Hebrew form, the latter a poetic Aramaism (cf. מָחַץ); but passing into Hebrew by different channels, they acquired different significations, as in English the familiar *ditch* and *dyke, channel* and *canal*, etc.

³ But *צלל tinnivit* = חָלַל: one of the many examples of roots distinct in Arabic, but confused in Hebrew. See Ges. s. v. חָרַר, חָרַר, חָרַר etc. (on חָלַל also, Fleischer, ap. Del. on Isa. 3, 4).

חָלַל Neh. 3, 15 is an Aramaism: see 1 Ki. 6, 9. 7, 3 Pesh.

⁴ Heb. חָלַל = צָמָא.

طَفَّرَ	=	طَفَّرَ	=	טַפְּרָן
(2) عَظَمَ to be strong, = * * *				= עָצַם, עָצוּם.
عَظِيمٌ mighty, Qor. 2, 256				
عَظْمٌ bone	=	حِصْلًا thigh, Gen. 32, 32. Num. 5, 21 al.	=	עָצָם.
نَظَرَ inspexit	=	نَبَرَ to observe, preserve	=	נָצַר ¹ .
(3) * * *	=	وَعَى	=	וָעַז.
وَعَى monuit	=	وَعَى	=	וָעַז.
قَيَّضَ	=	קִיַּט Dan. 2, 35	=	קִיַּז.

A third no less important series (passing by $z = 1 = \dot{z}$) is $\dot{z} = 9 = \dot{z}$:—

(1) ذَيْبٌ	=	ذَابٌ	=	זַיַּב.
ذُبَابٌ	=	ذُحَابٌ	=	זַבִּיב.
ذَبَحَ	=	ذָחַס	=	זַבַּח.
ذَاتٌ, ذَا	=	דֵּי, דָּא, דֵּיין	=	זֹאת, זָה.
ذَهَبٌ	=	ذָחַל	=	זַהַב.
ذَابٌ	=	זָחַב, Ps. 78, 20	=	זָב.
ذَكَرَ	=	זָכַח	=	זַכַּר.
ذَكَرَ	=	זָכַח	=	זַכַּר.
ذَنْبٌ	=	זָחַב, זָחַב	=	זַנֵּב.
ذَقِنَ	=	זָחַח	=	זַקַּן.
ذَرَأَ	=	זָרַח, זָרַח	=	זַרְהָה.
ذِرَاعٌ	=	זָחַח	=	זַרְעוּע.

¹ נצר Cant. 1, 6. 8, 11 f. is most probably an Aramaism (so Del.): but נצר in the sense of *keeping anger* must be connected with Arab. *نظر*, the more original and literal signification being preserved in the derivative *מִטְרָה* (as in *מִדְרָר*, *אֵלְמָה*, *תַּקְנָה*, *cord*, *צִיּוּן* and other words).

(2) אָדָן ⁴	= אִדְנָא, אִדְנָא	= אִדְנָא.
בָּדַר	= בָּדַר, בָּדַר	= בֹּדַר.
כָּדַב	= כָּדַב	= כֹּדַב.
חָדָא ¹ ex ad- verso fuit: חָדָא ² res alteri opposita	= חָדָא, חָדָא	= חָדָא ¹ breast.
(3) אָחַד	= אָחַד	= אָחַד.
אִדָּא, אִדָּא	= אִדָּא Dan. 2, 15	= אִדָּא, אִדָּא.
عَادَ Qor. 23, = * * *		= عَادَ (عَو) ² to take refuge.

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And a fourth series, which might be similarly illustrated, is $\text{ש} = \text{ל} = \text{ת}$ (e. g. שָׁנָה to repeat, שָׁנִים; לָלַח, לָלַח; תָּנִי, תָּנִי). (וֹרֵת, יִרְחַח, יִרְחַח: ³אִתְּנָן).

179. Although our immediate object is but a narrow one, being the illustration, not of the Hebrew language as a whole, but only of the verb (under certain aspects) by Arabic, yet in order to accomplish this satisfactorily, it will be desirable to make our way sure by defining more closely the relation in which these two languages stand towards each other. If Arabic were altogether a *younger* language than Hebrew, i. e. if it represented a more recent stratification, an ulterior stage beyond that at which Hebrew had arrived, it would be chimerical to expect it to throw much light upon the latter: we do not, as a rule, look to French or Italian to elucidate Latin, and we should not, in the case assumed, look to Arabic to elucidate Hebrew. If, however, notwithstanding the difference of date, Arabic exhibits particular formations

¹ חָדָא to see is Aram. חָדָא. ² עָרַר to be strong = Arab. عَزَّ.

³ But שָׁנָה year = חָדָא = سَنَةٌ.

in a more original condition than Hebrew, then such a course would be the natural one to adopt, and our expectations would not be disappointed. And this is, in fact, the case. Arabic is, in many respects, *an older language than Hebrew*: speaking roughly and without intending the analogy to be pressed in detail, we may say that Hebrew bears the same sort of relation to Arabic that English does to German. Consider in what manner German often lights up an obscure corner in English: I do not, of course, mean to imply that it presents us with the constituent factors of our own language in their ultimate and original form, but it reduces our irregularities to rule, it exhibits what with us is fragmentary, residuary, or imperfect, as parts of a complete and systematic whole. Various rare or antiquated forms, provincialisms, the peculiarities connected with the use of the auxiliaries, may be taken as examples. What is the meaning of *worth* in the line, 'Woe worth the day, woe worth the hour?' It is plain that it cannot be used in its ordinary acceptation as a substantive or an adjective: but our own language offers us nothing with which it can be connected or identified. In English the word is, in fact, the only survivor of a once numerous family: separated from its kindred, its meaning, and even what part of speech it is, has become totally forgotten. But in German the whole family still exists in the shape of a verb, complete in all its parts, and forming an integral element in the language. Thus the irregularity ceases to be irregular: the fragment at once falls into its proper place, as a part in a living whole, and as such reassumes the signification which had well-nigh been irrecoverably lost¹. And, similarly, it is

¹ Earle, *Philology of the English Tongue*, § 283.

often possible in Arabic to trace the entire stratification of which Hebrew has preserved nothing more than a few remains scattered here and there, which, *taken by themselves*, can never be adequately explained.

180. The assertion, however, that Arabic is an older language than Hebrew will excite the reader's surprise, if not his derision. It will appear to him, in the literal sense of the word, preposterous, thus to invert the natural order of things: he will deem it incredible that such an ancient language should be younger and less primitive than one which does not enter the field of history for more than 1500 years after a period at which the former is known from authentic records to have flourished. And yet such an opinion is not so incredible or improbable as it may at first sight appear. If, for instance, as competent and independent authorities affirm, there are parts of Arabia in which the language of the Qor'an may be heard in unaltered purity at the present day, if, therefore, the Arabic language has remained unchanged during the last 1200 years, may it not have continued in the same manner comparatively unchanged during an indefinite period previously? Were not the tranquil and secluded habits of the Arab tribes (whose motto might well have been the words *להם לבדם נתנה הארץ ולא עבר זר בתוכם*) eminently calculated to preserve the integrity of their language, while the migratory and unsettled life of the early Hebrews, to say nothing of their depression and subjugation in a foreign land, the effects of which cannot but have been strongly impressed upon their language, would tend in just the opposite direction? May not Hebrew then, so to speak, be a language which is *prematurely old*, while Arabic, under the influence of favourable

external conditions, retained till a much later date the vigour and luxuriance of its youth?

Obs. It may also be recollected that there are other instances in which, of two languages belonging to the same family, the one which historically is known only as the later, may nevertheless contain many elements more primitive than any to be found in the other. For example, compare Latin with Greek. Greek appears as a fully developed language long before the date of the earliest records written in Latin (inscriptions of about 250 B. C.): yet comparative philology teaches us that Latin is in more respects than one an *older* language than Greek—it retains the older forms, which in Greek have gradually given way, and receded from sight. Thus the digamma (*F*), which the metre proves to have existed at the time when the Homeric poems were composed, before long vanished from the language: in Latin the corresponding sound (*v*) was retained to the end (*vinum, vicus, video*, etc.). Similarly, where in Greek we have only the aspirate, Latin retains the earlier sibilant: cf. ξ, ξξ, ἔπτα, ὄλος, ἴστημι with *se, sex, septem, salvus, sisto*. Numerous instances may also be found in the case- and person-endings. In Greek σ was regularly dropped between two vowels, in Latin it was retained, at least under another form: accordingly in *generis, musarum*, we hear the representative of the σ which had already disappeared even in the oldest Greek forms, γένεος (for *γενε-σ-ος) and μουσάων. Passing to the verb, we have here *sum* by the side of εἰμὶ (for *ἐσμί, Sk. *ásmi*), *es* by the side of εἶ (i. e. *ἐσί, cf. ἐσσί, Sk. *ási*), *eram* by the side of ἦν, in Homer ξην (i. e. *ξσην), *siem* (for *es-iem*) by the side of εἶην (i. e. *ἐσίην): in *legit* the *t* is preserved which has vanished from λέγει (for *λέγετι), though it reappears in λέγεται, and in verbs in -μ takes the form of σ: *legimus* and *legunt*, like the dialectic λέγομεν, λέγοντι, are older than λέγομεν, λέγουσι (for λέγονσι, i. e. λέγοντι), and *legentem*, like *matrem* and *decem*, is older than λέγοντα, μητέρα, and δέκα (Sk. *mātāram, daśan*). These examples, shewing as they do that numerous forms still existed in Latin centuries after they had been lost or materially modified in Greek, will be sufficient to diminish, if not to destroy, any doubt of the possibility of similar phenomena being observable in Arabic, as compared with Hebrew, in spite of the disparity of date.

181. But we are not confined to probable reasoning: the presence of the older form in Arabic admits frequently of direct demonstration. Let us take two or three of the more obvious cases. In Hebrew the consonant following the article is regularly doubled: we may indeed surmise from analogy that the duplication conceals some letter which once formed part of the article; but what that letter may have been, the Hebrew language itself does not afford the materials even for a plausible conjecture. In Arabic the hidden letter is obvious. There the article is 'al, in which the *l* is *never* assimilated in writing with the following consonant, and not in pronunciation except when the latter is a sibilant, dental, or liquid. Thus 'almalku = הַמַּלְקֶה: 'ashshamsu = הַשְּׁמֶשׁ. Now it is inconceivable that 'almalku can have arisen out of *hammélekh* by disintegration: Hebrew itself tells us that מְדַבֵּר, נִתְּתָה, מְצַפּוֹן are posterior to נתנת, מתדבר, מן-צפון: it is accordingly evident that Arabic has preserved the older unassimilated form which in Hebrew regularly suffered assimilation. Exactly the same relation between the two languages is observable in 'anta, 'antum by the side of אַתָּה, אַתֶּם. Again in הֵן several originally distinct terminations have become merged: this can be shewn inferentially from Hebrew itself, but in Arabic these terminations are still distinguishable. In all feminine nouns such as מְדַיְנָה, the *h* represents an original *th*, dropped in ordinary pronunciation, but reappearing¹ in *st. constr.* and

¹ So in French the *t* of *habet, amat*, lost in *il a, il aime*, becomes visible again in *a-t-il? aime-t-il?* Ἐδεῖξα is in Sk. *adiksham*, and the liquid with which the Greek word must once have terminated is seen in the middle ἐδεῖξά-μ-ην.

before a suffix מְדִינַת, מְדִינָתִי¹: in Arabic the *t* is written regularly, *medīnatun*, city (where *n* is the so-called 'nunation,' and *u* marks the nominative case). Similarly פְּתָחָה was once פְּתַחַת, as we see from the form assumed before a suffix גְּנַבְתָּם (cf. also the sporadic forms אֶזְלַת, עֵשָׂת, הֶרְצַת, etc.): accordingly in Arabic we have regularly, as 3 *fem.*, *katabat*. In verbs ל'ה, the ה stands for an older י or ו, which must indeed be presupposed for such forms as גָּלִי, חֲסִיָּה, יִרְבִּינִי, אֲתִי, and the derivatives רָאִי, נִקְיִין: in Arabic the weak consonant is often visible to the eye (though quiescent when the vowel immediately preceding it is *a*), as رَأَى *ra'a* = ראה, آتَى *ata* = אתה, نَقِيَ *naqiya* = נקה.

At the commencement of a word Hebrew evinces a strong dislike to the presence of ו, a letter for which Arabic has almost as marked a preference: thus for ילד,

¹ Retained in Phoenician, all but uniformly: see Schröder, *Phön. Gramm.* p. 170. In Hebrew, also, it is preserved in certain proper names (some doubtless of Canaanitish origin), as בשמה Gen. 26, 34. ו Ki. 4, 15; מחלה Gen. 28, 9. 2 Chr. 11, 18; אֶהְיֶה Gen. 26, 26; בכורה ו Sam. 9, 1; also גְּלִיָּה and גְּנוּבָה: more often in names of places, as אֵילָה Deut. 2, 8; בצקה Josh. 15, 39; גבעה 18, 28; דברת 19, 12. 21, 28; צרפת ו Ki. 17, 9: further, with a long vowel, שמעה 2 Ki. 12, 22; שמרה ו Chr. 8, 21; מכמה Josh. 16, 6; לבנה 19, 26; בעלה 19, 44; אמה Gen. 48, 7; ענה Isa. 10, 28; חמה often. Add besides נחלה Ps. 16, 6; עורה 60, 13; שנה 132, 4 (see Del. ed. 3); and the archaic זמרה Ex. 15, 2 'my strength and a song is Yah,'—the supposition that י of the suffix may have dropped out seems precluded by the recurrence of exactly the same form Isa. 12, 2. Ps. 118, 14: at the same time it is possible (Böttcher, i. p. 241) that the older language, dispensing with superfluous letters, intended the י of the next word to do double duty, so that the whole would read וזמרתה. The suggestion that the names ending in ה־ are apocopated from ה־ה (Hupf.) is surely not necessary, or supported by analogy.

ישע, ירש, we find *walada*, *wasi'a*, *waritha*; in which of the two languages now has the change taken place? Hebrew itself will answer this question. By the side of יָלַד we find הוֹלִיד, נוֹלַד, יוֹלַד (cf. הַתּוֹדֵעַ), where it is impossible to account for the ו except by supposing it to have been the original letter which in ילַר was modified into י owing to a peculiarity of Hebrew pronunciation: the opposite assumption cannot be made, because no assignable reason exists for an original י to be changed into ו so soon as it ceases to begin a word. More than this, the Arabic *'awlada* shews us the uncontracted form of הוֹלִיד: as in *'aw*, *qawlun*, *mawidun* (مَوْدُون), for או, מוֹעֵד, קוֹל etc., the waw retains its consonantal value, and *aw* (which is obviously the earlier form) has not yet become *o*.

182. Having thus by a variety of instances, all pointing in the same direction, established our right to treat Arabic forms as more primitive than the corresponding forms in Hebrew, we may go further, and adopt the same opinion, without hesitation, in cases which might seem inconclusive if considered by themselves, but which, in the light of those instances, will not admit of explanation by any different hypothesis. It is a characteristic of languages which occupy towards one another the relation here shewn to subsist between Arabic and Hebrew, that isolated or sporadic forms in the one correspond to forms of regular occurrence in the other. Now for קָטַלְתָּ, לָדָה, אָתָּה, we find occasionally a K'tib אֲתִי לְבִי, אֲתִי (2 Kings 4, 2. 7. 16. 23. Ruth 3, 3. 4 al.), and in Arabic this *yod* is the regular mark of the 2nd *fem. sing.*, as *'anti*, *laki* (Qor. 3, 32), *qatalati*: accordingly it is plain that *i* was the original vowel (cf. also חֲקַטְלִי), which in Hebrew, gradu-

diately concerns us. Exactly as בֵּיתָה corresponds to בַּיְתָא *baytan*, so אֶקְטָלָה corresponds to the Arabic 'energetic' أَقْتَلَنَّ (also أَقْتَلَنَّ) '*aqtulan* (also '*aqtulanna*).

Obs. On הָּ it may further be remarked that it clings likewise to a few geographical names, Deut. 10, 7 Gudgódah, and in the fem. Num. 33, 22 f. Keheláthah; 33 f. Yotbáthah; Josh. 19, 43 and Judg. 14, 1. 5 Timnáthah; Mic. 5, 1 Ephráthah. It is to be recognized also in the by-forms (in all of which the tone is similar) אֵימָתָה Ex. 15, 16; יְשׁוּעָתָה Ps. 3, 3. Jon. 2, 10; סִפְפָתָה Hos. 8, 7; עֲוִיָתָה 10, 13 (and 4 times besides). The view that these are 'double feminines' is surely an extraordinary one, and is rightly abandoned in Kautzsch's edition of Gesenius (1878), § 80, rem. 2 f.; they agree precisely in form with עֲוִיָתָה to *Gaza*, הַגִּבְעָתָה to *Gibeah*, and the only question is whether they are actual archaisms which held their place in the language, or whether they are *affected* archaisms framed at will by particular poets. For those at any rate which are most isolated (הַמִּזְמָתָה Jer. 11, 15; עֲפָתָה Job 10, 22) or are met with only in later writers (צָרְחָה Ps. 120, 1; and the masc. הַמְּוִתָה 116, 15; נְהִלָה

Historical French Grammar (Mr. Kitchin's translation), pp. 88–96, where it is likewise shewn how, in isolated instances, as in *filis*, the nominative was preserved: in French, then, by a strange reversal of what might have been anticipated, the nominative was the exceptional form; in Hebrew, on the other hand, this peculiarity fell to the share of the accusative as well. 'In modern Arabic the oblique form of the plural (*-in*) has everywhere superseded the direct form (*-ún*),' Wright, i. § 347, rem. *b*: cf. Philippi, *St. Constr.* pp. 143 ff.

In classical Arabic the noun is declined as follows:—

	SINGULAR.	DUAL.	PLURAL.
N.	<i>kâtibun</i> = (כַּתִּיב)	<i>kâtibáni</i>	<i>kâtibúna</i> .
G. D.	<i>kâtibin</i>	<i>kâtibaini</i>	<i>kâtibína</i> .
A.	<i>kâtiban</i>		

The coincidence of the Hebrew dual and plural with the *oblique* cases in Arabic is remarkable, and cannot be purely accidental.

124, 4) the latter alternative seems most probable: the use of י־, Ps. 113, 5-9. 114, 8. 123, 1 shews to what an extent the later poets loved these quaint forms. But the termination has here and there its proper force, as in Ps. 80, 3 לִכְנָח לִישׁוּעָה; 44, 27 קוֹמָה עוֹרָחָה; 44, 27 קוֹמָה עוֹרָחָה (חֹשֶׁה לְעוֹרָחַי), and perhaps also 63, 8. 94, 17.

183. To the reader who is unacquainted with Arabic, the force of this comparison will be rendered more palpable if it be explained that in that language the imperfect tense possesses four distinct modal forms, each marked by its own termination, viz. the indicative, the subjunctive, the jussive, and the energetic. Thus from *qatala* (= קָטַל) we get—

	INDIC.	SUBJ.	JUSSIVE.	ENERGETIC.
1 sing.	' <i>aqtulu</i>	' <i>aqtula</i>	' <i>aqtul</i>	' <i>aqtulan</i> (or <i>-anna</i>).
3 pl. masc.	<i>yaqtulūna</i>	<i>yaqtulū</i>	<i>yaqtulū</i>	<i>yaqtulun</i> (or <i>-unna</i>).

In *yaqtulūna* the source of the *n* in יִקְטִלֵּין immediately discloses itself: like modern Arabic, Hebrew, as a rule, discarded the final syllable *-na*; it was not¹, however, disused altogether, but kept its place as a fuller and more significant form, adapted to round a period, or give to a word some slight additional force. With the subjunctive we are not here further concerned: but the two remaining moods have both left in Hebrew indelible marks of their presence, in a manner which declares that they must once have been more uniformly and extensively recognizable than is now the case: marks which it is the more

¹ Particulars respecting its occurrence may be found in Böttcher, § 930: the instances are also collected *in extenso* by König, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, ii. (Berlin, 1839) [a comparison of the style and language of Deut. with that of Jerem.], p. 165 ff.

important to observe, since, *as the usage of the language shews*, they still retained a distinctive meaning. As regards the jussive, nothing need be added to what has been already said (pp. 59, 219). With respect to the energetic, which, like the jussive, is used indiscriminately with *all* the persons, a reference to the examples given below, p. 272, will shew that its use is by no means limited to the expression of a strongly-felt purpose or desire, but that it is employed much more widely, to convey, for instance, an emphatic command, or to add a general emphasis to the assertion of a future fact—it being a matter of indifference whether this fact is *desired* by the speaker or not: and the reader will not unnaturally wonder why, when its signification is so broad and comprehensive in Arabic, any difficulty should be felt in conceding a similar scope to the Hebrew cohortative. *A priori*, to be sure, the cohortative, so far as can be seen, might have been employed with the same range of meaning as the energetic: it is only actual examination which, fixing narrower limits for the vast majority of passages in which it occurs, forbids us to exceed them for the two or three isolated occasions upon which its predominant sense seems out of place.

Obs. In many—perhaps most—of the cases where Arabic makes use of the energetic, Hebrew would, in fact, avail itself of a totally different construction, viz. the *infinitive absolute* prefixed to the verb—a construction which imparts similar emphasis to the sentiment expressed, and of which it is almost impossible not to be spontaneously reminded, as one contemplates the Arabic energetic. Not only do the two idioms agree in other respects, but, singularly enough, the infinitive absolute is frequently found after $\square\aleph$ (e. g. Ex. 15, 26. 21, 5. 22, 3. 11 f. 22. Lev. 7, 18. 13, 7. 27, 10. 13), precisely as the energetic occurs after لما . Will it, then, be thought

too bold to conjecture that the wider and more general functions which this form continued to exercise in Arabic, were in Hebrew superseded by the rise of a new idiom, of genuine native growth, which gradually absorbed all except one? that in this way the termination *-an* or *-anna*, from having been once capable of a more varied application, came ultimately to be definitely restricted to the single function with which we are familiar? Both idioms subserving upon the whole the same objects, after the inf. abs. had established itself in the language, they would speedily come into collision; it would be felt, however, that the two were not needed together, and by a division of labour the language would gain in both definiteness and force.

184. It ought, however, to be mentioned that a different conception of the relationship subsisting between Hebrew and Arabic has both been advocated, and received the approbation of scholars. Thus, M. Renan writes—and his words are echoed by ‘T. J. O.’ in Smith’s *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. *Shemitic Languages and Writing*, § 32—‘l’hébreu ancien possède en germe presque tous les procédés, qui font la richesse de l’arabe,’ and ‘le mécanisme du *futur figuré*, qui offre en arabe tant de richesse et de variété, et supplée presque à l’absence des modes, se retrouve à l’état rudimentaire dans les futurs apocopés et paragogiques de l’hébreu¹.’ In support of these assertions, M. Renan appeals to Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. vii, where the remark occurs that ‘a number of forms and constructions, which in the rich Arabic grammar are developed and predominant, present themselves in Hebrew only in weak and undeveloped beginnings, as, in particular, is the case with the “figured” future [i. e. the modal forms].’ Not only, however, does

¹ *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, pp. 424, 425 (ed. 1863). Cf. Bleek, *Intr. to the Old Test.* § 34; Keil, *Intr. to the Old Test.* § 13.

this remark seem irreconcilable with the facts adduced in § 181, but it is directly contradicted by another statement of Gesenius on the same page, where, comparing the *popular* with the *literary* Arabic, he observes that the former 'often approximates more closely to Hebrew, in that many forms existing in the written language have in the popular language *dropped out of use*¹, and, so to speak, perished, e. g. the numerous modifications of the future, many conjugations, forms of nouns, etc.'—language which certainly implies that they have likewise dropped out of use in Hebrew². It need only be further added that, in accepting the latter view as better supported by the evidence, there are, of course, two errors to be guarded against: one, that of imagining Hebrew to be *derived from* Arabic; the other, that of concluding *everything* exhibited by the classical Arabic to have originated in primitive Semitic times. The true state of the case is rather this: Hebrew and Arabic, with the other Semitic languages, are the *collateral* descendants of the old Semitic stock, of which Arabic is thought upon the whole to have preserved the greatest resemblance to the parent tongue: but this by no means excludes the possibility of Arabic itself, after its separation from the other languages, developing particular forms and constructions peculiar to itself alone.

Obs. The opinion of Ewald, in spite of some expressions which seem to point in an opposite direction (as § 1^b, p. 19; § 6^b, p. 34), is not apparently, upon the whole, at variance with the one here advocated: his language regarding the progressiveness and development visible

¹ For some illustrations of this, see Wright, *Arab. Gramm.* i. §§ 90 *end*, 185 *rem. e*, 308 *end*; Philippi, p. 145.

² The same view is upheld in his smaller Grammar, §§ 1. 6, 90. 1.

in Arabic, when taken in conjunction with statements to be found elsewhere, alludes in all probability to such formations as those just referred to, which are admitted on all hands to be specially Arabic in origin. Thus on p. 35 we find it remarked that Hebrew, even at the earliest period, 1500 to 2000 B. C., to which we can trace it, 'must already have sunk from an earlier level of more living growth, and in many respects have lost much of its flexibility and richness, as can be demonstrated by the most unequivocal indications;' and he refers himself to §§ 162, 211, 216, 234, 345, to which may be added 202^a, ^c, 203^a, where (cf. his Essay *Ueber die Gesch. Folge der Sem. Sprachen*, 1871, pp. 13, 46, 49) at any rate the termination *-an* is fully recognized as a primitive Semitic case-ending. Compare also *Gramm. Arab.* § 7, 'ut Arabum lingua ditissima et purissima multa ex antiquitate remotâ servavit quae vel in hebraeâ minus integra sunt et perspicua, ita' etc.; and the similar language in his criticism of Olshausen's *Lehrbuch* in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1861, p. 1803. It is on the question of the origin of the י- and ג- (as in מלאתי משפט, רעואל) that Ewald's divergence from the view entertained by Olshausen and Philippi is most pronounced: *ibid.* pp. 1809-1811, and in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1871, p. 303.

I may conclude the first part of this appendix by quoting the words of Eberhard Schrader, who, after enumerating some of the points which, in his opinion, establish incontestably the claims of Arabic to be the most faithful representative of the original mother-tongue of the Semitic race¹, sums up his general position as follows:— 'Certainly each of the Semitic languages, Arabic included, can display a number of specialities which are wanting in the rest. As regards, however, those formations and general linguistic specialities which were the property of all these languages, Arabic, partly in their structural condition, partly in their fulness and in the freshness

¹ A few of these points have been noticed in § 181; of the rest the following may be named in passing:—the distinction of only *three* vowels; the vowel-ending and 'nunation' in nouns; the 3rd fem. pl. *yaktubna* (as against הכתבנה with the *double* mark of the fem.); an entire system of verb-modifications, and the uniform adoption of a change of vowel to denote the passive voice—both of which are but partially and incompletely carried out in Hebrew.

with which they live in the consciousness of the language, exhibits with marked preponderance the greater originality. Accordingly, in our opinion, hardly a doubt can exist that, in one way or other, the nearest resemblance to the original Semitic type is to be looked for in Arabic. What we should protest against is purely the one-sidedness with which people look for this type in Arabic as such, and, where possible, in Arabic as known to us from literary records: a one-sidedness which involves the identification of Arabic in particular with Semitic in general. Rather, it cannot possibly be ignored that even Arabic, as we possess it, is already the result of a long and many-sided development. But we should be forcibly shutting our own eyes, were we to regard everything that Arabic has in excess of the other Semitic languages, as *merely* Arabic accretion; we should do the same were we even, in point of originality, to place the particular configuration of Semitic displayed by Arabic on a lower, or indeed upon an equal footing with Hebrew, Aramaic, or Assyrian. In conformity with the argument drawn out above, the state of the case is rather this, that, without detracting from the rich and exuberant expansion of a number of germs, which even as such are scarcely traceable in the other Semitic languages, Arabic in all essential points has preserved the original Semitic type with the greatest purity¹.

185. Turning now from structure to function, we may collect a few illustrations of the more noticeable significations that are borne by the two tenses.

§ 13. See Wright, ii. 1^o, and cf. Qor. 3, 75. 108. 6, 31. 7, 69.

§ 14. Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* ii. p. 347: 'Usus perfecti de re futurâ in Korano latius patet, videturque mihi vestigia quaedam hebraei perfecti cum 1 relativo servare.' The use alluded to is, I believe,

¹ *Ueber die Abstammung der Chaldäer und die Ursitze der Semiten*, in the ZDMG. xxvii. 1873, p. 416. The reader may consult in addition, on the same subject, Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des St. Constr.* (Weimar, 1871), passim, especially pp. 124, 142-151, with Nöldeke's review of it in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, June 1871, p. 881. Nöldeke gives it as his opinion that the presence of vowel-terminations in old Semitic, as germs of the Arabic cases, is very probable: he only demurs to the supposition that as yet they had definitely begun to fulfil the functions of the three cases as such.

confined to those descriptions of the 'Hour' of resurrection, or the future life, with which the Qor'an abounds; and though at times the perfect appears in the neighbourhood of other perfects without *waw* (e.g. 6, 22-31. 7, 35-49), yet it is so much more frequently found surrounded by *imperfects* (in a future sense) as to make it difficult to avoid accepting Ewald's conclusion. The list given by Ewald by no means exhausts the instances which might be found: two or three examples will, however, be sufficient for our present purpose. 11, 11. 100 he (Phar'oh) will head his people on the day of resurrection *fa'auradahum* (as though וְהוֹרִידוּם), and lead them down into the fire. 14, 24-28 and they will come forth to God all together, and he will say etc. 25, 27 and one day will the heavens be cleft and the angels be sent down descending. 44, 54-56. 50, 19-30. 78, 19 f.

§ 17. Qor. 7, 87. 11, 35 *إِنْ شَاءَ* *si voluerit*. 45. 83 as for thy (Loť's) wife, on her shall light what will have lighted on them. 109 abiding in it as long as the heavens and earth shall have lasted, except thy Lord shall have willed otherwise. 42, 43; after *حَتَّى* until, 6, 31.

§ 19. Cf. Qor. 3, 138. 159. 7, 149. 10, 52.

§ 27. Various instances of the *inceptive* force of the imperfect:— 3, 42 he only saith to a thing, Be, *فَيَكُونُ* and it is; so 52. 19, 36 (cf. Ps. 33, 9). 7, 98. 11, 40 *وَيَصْنَعُ* and he went on to build the ark. 18, 40 *وَيَقُولُ*. 20, 41. 58, 9; after *إِذْ* (= *אֲזַ*), 3, 120 *إِذْ تَقُولُ* then thou wentest on to say; after *ثُمَّ* (= *אֲחַ*), 3, 22. 40, 69. 58, 9, cf. 11, 77. 21, 12. Also 7, 114. 26, 44 and Moses cast down his rod, and behold it began devouring their inventions. 11, 44 and it began to move.

3, 39 when they were busy casting lots. 145. 147 when ye were coming up the height. 21, 78 when they were giving judgment. 40, 10.

The *inceptive* force of the tense is also conspicuously displayed when it follows a verb in the past for the purpose of indicating the intention or object with which the action was performed; as 3, 117. 6, 25 when they come to thee to dispute with thee. 7, 72. 10, 3 then ascended his throne *yudabbiru* to rule all things. 42, 9; cf. 3, 158. 34, 43 al., and Wright, ii. § 8^d. With *יּוּם אִוֹלַד בּוּ*, cf. 19, 15 *yawma yamutu* (= *יּוּם יָמוּתוֹ*) the day he would die on.

§ 34. Wright, ii. § 8^o; Qor. 7, 84 and sit not in every road menacing and misleading (both indic.). 11, 80. Compare also Steinthal, *Characteristik*, p. 267.

§§ 44-46. On the energetic, see Wright, ii. § 19. Unlike the Hebrew cohortative, it is used freely in *all* the persons: the nature of its intensifying influence will be clear from the examples:—Qor. 3, 75 surely (ج) *ye shall* believe in him! 194 *la'ukaffiranna* (= بَطَّرْنَا أَجْرًا) surely I will forgive you your evil deeds! 6, 12 he *will* surely gather you together for the day of resurrection. 14 *do not be* of the 'associators' [i. e. the Christians]! 35, 80 *do not be* one of the ignorant! 77 surely, if my Lord doth not guide me, surely *I shall be* of the people that err! 7, 5 surely *we will ask!* 121 surely *I will* crucify you! And after اَلَمْا if at all, whether: 6, 67 and if Satan cause thee to forget (= وَنَسِيَ هَسْتَنْ), etc. 19, 26 (= اَمَّا رَاةَ تَرَامِي); 7, 33. 199. 10, 47 (cf. 40, 77) *whether* we let thee see some of the things with which we threaten them, or (اَو) take thee to ourselves, to us is their return. 43, 40 f.

§§ 122-129. The use of the Arabic ف *fa*, as illustrating the employment of و to introduce the apodosis or the predicate, was already appealed to by the mediaeval grammarians and commentators. Examples may readily be found: thus with وَرَعُو *know then*, Ps. 4, 4, compare Qor. 3, 14 O our Lord! we have indeed believed, so forgive us our sins! 44 I come to you with a sign from your Lord; so fear God and obey me: behold God is my Lord and your Lord; therefore serve him! 89 God is truthful; follow, *then* etc.

With the instances in §§ 123, 127, compare (a) 3, 49. 50 as to those who believe, *them* (ف) he will pay their reward. 26, 75-77.

(β) 6, 72 in the day that he saith, Be, *then* it is! 16, 87 and when they shall have seen the punishment, *then* it will not be lightened off them. 26, 80. 43, 50. 50, 39 in the night, *then* praise him! (in Hebrew, with of course the perfect, وَبَلِيْلًا وَنَسِيْلًا وَنَسِيْلًا.)

(γ) 3, 118 (14, 14 f.) upon God, *there* (ف) let the believer trust! 10, 59 in the grace of God and in his mercy, *why*, in this, *this* let them rejoice! 16, 53 قِيَايَ فَاَرْهَبُوْنَ so me, *me* revere! 42, 14; constantly after مَنْ *whoso*, as 3, 70 whoever has been true to his engagement, and fears God, *why* (ف), surely God loveth those that fear him. 76. 88. 45, 14 whoever does right, *falinafsihi* (وَلِنَفْسِهِ) 'tis for his own soul; after *whatever*, 42, 8. 34; in the apod. after *if*, 40, 22; after *whether ... or ...*, 10, 47. 40, 77.

APPENDIX IV.

On the Principle of Apposition in Hebrew.

Note. The following pages, which lay no claim to independent research, are based on the two papers of Professor Fleischer, 'Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arabischen,' in the *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Kön. Sächs. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1856, pp. 1-14; 1862, pp. 10-66; and on those parts of Philippi's monograph on the Status Constructus (Weimar, 1871) in which the same subject is treated with more immediate reference to Hebrew. The object of Fleischer's first paper was to correct certain mis-statements in the Grammars of De Sacy and Ewald: it provoked (as might have been anticipated) a characteristic reply from the last-named scholar in the *GGAN*, 1857, pp. 97-112: and the second paper accordingly defends *in extenso*, with a profusion of illustrative examples, the principles laid down more briefly in the first. The dispute between the two great grammarians turned, however, not so much upon the facts (though doubtless these were not duly estimated, and in part also overlooked by Ewald) as upon the relative priority, in the class of instances under discussion, of the *st. constr.* and apposition, Ewald contending in favour of the former, and regarding apposition as a breaking up of the older and stricter union of words, and the last resource of a decaying tongue, while Fleischer maintained that, where idioms defining the relations between words with precision and smoothness, are found side by side with simpler and rougher constructions in which those relations are only noted in their broader outline, presumption is in favour of the priority of the latter. The *principle* of apposition,

however, is not confined even to late Hebrew, so that Fleischer's position seems to be more in accordance with analogy, and is accepted without hesitation by Philippi (p. 90 f.).—It is convenient sometimes to use the term *Annexion* to denote the *st. constr.* relation.

The main principles here explained were also, it is worth adding, recognized long ago in their bearing on Hebrew syntax by the late Professor Lee, of Cambridge: see his *Hebr. Gr.* (1832), §§ 219. 1–3, 220.

186. Apposition, in the widest sense of the term, is the combination of the two parts of a 'simple judgment' into a complex idea¹. Every apposition, therefore, presupposes the possibility of a correlative predication, and any peculiarity in the nature of the one will but reflect a corresponding peculiarity in the nature of the other. For example, such expressions as 'man born of a woman,' Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων, imply, and may be derived from, the propositions 'man is born of a woman,' Ἰωάννης ἦν ὁ βαπτίζων. Of course instances like these, which merely view a single subject under two aspects, are not the peculiar property of any language: but the Semitic languages extend the principle much beyond what would be in harmony with our mode of thinking; they bring two terms into parallel juxtaposition in order to form a *single conception*, in cases where we should introduce a preposition, or substitute an adjective, as the more precise 'exponent' of the relation subsisting between them. The principal cases fall under two heads, which may be considered in order.

In Arabic, the material of which an object is composed is often not conceived under the form of an attribute or quality belonging to it (a *golden* crown): it is regarded as the *genus* or class to which the object is to be referred, and which is specified by being appended to the object named,

¹ *Berichte*, 1862, p. 12.

as its closer definition (*the crown, the gold; or a crown, gold*). In this example, the *crown* is the principal idea, to which *gold* stands in *explanatory apposition*¹: the crown is first indicated generally, and its nature is then more closely described by the mention of the class to which it belongs, the understanding combining the two ideas thus thrown down side by side into the logical unit which we express by the words *the (or a) golden crown*. Let this be distinguished from the other form of apposition, *a pound, gold*; here the first word marks a weight, measure, or number, and the second is described as the *Permutative*² of the first; and here, moreover, the measure, apart from the thing measured, being but an impalpable magnitude, it is the second, not the first word, which is the principal idea.

187. The form which the predicate assumes is determined similarly. Terms expressing *distinctly* its relation to the subject, such as *consists of, contains, extends over, measures, weighs, etc.*, are avoided: an article *is* the material of which it is composed, the whole *is* its parts, the genus *is* its species, the thing weighed *is* the weight, etc. Or, to pass to concrete instances (selected out of a large number collected by Fleischer from Arabic authors), 'their garments *are* silk' (Qor. 35, 30), 'each house *is* [not, *is of*] five stories,' 'Memphis *was* aqueducts and dams,' 'potash

¹ In the technical language of the grammarians it forms a بيان: see Dr. Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, ii. § 94, p. 248 (ed. 2, 1875). But two other constructions are likewise admissible: *a crown of* (من) *gold*, and *a crown of gold* (the *st. constr.*).

² بدل: so called because the idea of the empty measure is *exchanged*, as the sentence advances, for that of the thing measured (*ibid.* § 94 rem. b; § 139 rem. b).

is many kinds,' 'the crocodile *is* ten cubits,' 'the waters of the Nile in such and such a year *were* (= rose) five cubits,' 'the pilgrimage *is* (= lasts) some months' (Qor. 2, 193): in all these instances the predicate is in the *nominative*, and it follows that a simple relation of *Identity* must be affirmed between it and the subject. The idiom admits of imitation in English, more or less close, and sometimes quite naturally: Mecca was at that time *all* salt-wort and thorns, the field was one mass of bloom, 'the poop was beaten gold, . . . the oars were silver:' still, in Arabic at any rate, it must have been in too constant use to imply quite the emphasis which its rarity gives it in our own language, or which is made still plainer by the addition of 'all.'

188. By aid of these principles, a multitude of constructions occurring in O. T. receive at once a natural and sufficient explanation: the harshness and abruptness, as it seems to us, may not indeed be removed, but this is now seen to constitute no difficulty to the Semitic mode of thought. From our point of view, the simplest test of a legitimate apposition will be (§ 186) its capability of being transposed into a proposition in which a relation of identity between subj. and pred. can be conceived; almost all the examples, it may be observed, will bear this transposition except a few in § 190, where the principle of qualification by apposition seems to have been applied with greater licence. Now (1) just as Arabic says *الصَّنَمُ الذَّهَبُ* *the image, the gold*, so in Hebrew we have Ex. 39, 17 הַעֲבוֹתוֹת הַזָּהָב; 2 Ki. 16, 17 הַבָּקָר הַנְּחֹשֶׁת: these are both cases of apposition, 'the cords, the gold' = *the golden cords*; 'the oxen, the brass' = *the brazen oxen*: not only is there no necessity to postulate an ellipse, 'the

cords (even the cords) of gold¹, but Arabic usage altogether prohibits it². Further examples: 1 Sam. 2, 23 the fork, the three prongs = *the three-pronged fork*. Zech. 4, 10 לִבְדִּיל הַאֲבֵן הַבְּרִיל the plumb-stone; further, Gen. 6, 17. Num. 7, 13. Jer. 52, 20. 1 Chr. 15, 19 מִצְלָתַיִם נְהַשֶּׁה; and somewhat more freely, to denote, not the actual substance of which an object consists, but a physical or material characteristic displayed by it, Jer. 31, 40 the valley, the corpses³. Ezek. 22, 18 כֶּסֶף סִינִים = silver-dross (the first word in English qualifying the second, so that the order is reversed). Ex. 22, 30 בֶּשֶׂר בְּשָׂדֵה טָרְפָה flesh in the field, that which is torn = *torn flesh* (cf. Jer. 41, 8). 24, 5 זִבְחִים וְשִׁלְמִים. Deut. 3, 5⁴. 16, 21 עֵץ אֲשֶׁרָה כָּל עֵץ = an Asherah (of) any wood. Isa. 3, 24 מַעֲשֵׂה מַקְשָׁה. Ps. 60, 5 יְיָ תַרְעֵלָה. 68, 17 mountains, peaks⁴ = *peaked mountains*⁵.

(2) To these correspond, in the predicative form, Ex. 9, 31 the barley *was ears*. Jer. 24, 2 one basket *was* good figs etc.⁶ Ezek. 41, 22 הַמְּזִבָּה עֵץ. Gen. 1, 2 the earth *was* an emptiness and waste. 14, 10 the vale *was* pits⁷, pits of slime. Isa. 5, 12 and their feast *is* lute and cymbal etc. 30, 33 אֵשׁ וְעֵצִים. 65, 4 פָּרַק. Ps. 23, 5 בּוֹסִי רִוְיָהּ my cup *is an overflowing*. 45, 9 all thy garments *are* myrrh. Ezra 10,

¹ As is done e. g. by Kalisch, § 87. 10. Ewald, § 290^o, regards these as cases of dissolution of the *st. constr.*, brought about by the article prefixed to the first word.

² Fleischer shews that annexion is not here allowable.

³ As predicate, 'the valley was corpses,' like 'Memphis was aqueducts.' With §§ 188-192 comp. generally Wright, § 136^a; Ew. § 287^b.

⁴ Embracing in a complex idea the subj. and pred. of the propositions, 'the cities *were* high walls,' 'the mountains *were* peaks.'

⁵ Lee (§ 219) explains similarly Ezek. 34, 20 *lit.* sheep, fatness.

⁶ Cf. 'all the district was figs, vines, and olives' (*Ber.* 1862, p. 34).

⁷ The first בארורה a *suspended st. constr.*, like Ps. 78, 9: Ewald, § 289^o.

13 the season *was* showers. Jer. 2, 28 thy gods *are* the number of thy cities¹.

189. It is but an extension of this usage (though as it would seem more liberally employed in Hebrew than in Arabic²) when terms denoting other than material attributes are treated similarly. Thus (1) Josh. 16, 9 עָרִים מְבָדְלוֹת cities, separations = separate cities. Ps. 120, 3 לָשׁוֹן רְמִיָּה O tongue, deceitfulness! Isa. 30, 20 bread, distress; and water, affliction (i. e. bread and water given in such scant measure, as in themselves to betoken distress and affliction). Zech. 1, 13 words, consolations = *consoling words*. Prov. 22, 21^b אֲמָתִים אֲמָתִים. Jer. 10, 10 אֱלֹהִים אֱמֶתֶת. 25, 15 הֵינִי הַחֲמָה.

(2) Gen. 11, 1 the whole earth was שְׂפָה אַחַת. 2 Sam. 17, 3 all the people shall be עֵצָה שְׁלוֹם *peace*³. Isa. 19, 11 עֵצָה. 27, 10 the city is בְּדָד. 30, 7 שְׁבֵת. Jer. 48, 38 מִסְפָּד. Ezek. 2, 7 בְּיָהֵם מְרִי. 16, 7 עָרָם וְעָרֵיהֶם. Ps. 19, 10 אֲמָתִים. 35, 6 הִשְׁתַּבַּח. 109, 4 (an extreme case) אֲנִי תְּפִלָּה⁴. 110, 3 thy people is נְדָבוֹת all freewillingness. Prov. 8, 30 וְאֵהִיָּהּ וְשַׁעֲשַׁעִים and I was all delight. Job 8, 9 for we are yesterday (2 Sam. 15, 20 בּוֹאֵךְ בּוֹאֵךְ). 11, 8. 22, 12 is not God *the height of heaven*? Dan. 9, 23⁴. Ex. 17, 12 אֲמוֹנָה.

Obs. Other cases of an abstract word used as predic.: Gen. 49, 4 (implicitly). 1 Sam. 22, 23 מִשְׁקָרָה. 21, 6. Isa. 23, 18 and frequently

¹ Cf. 'their woes are the number of the sand' (*Ber.* 1862, p. 39).

² On 'adlun, and some other words originally substantives (comp. in Hebrew מַעֲט, which is only in the later language treated as an adj., and declined), see *Berichte*, 1856, p. 5; Wright, ii. § 94, rem. b.

³ Comp. Del. on Job 5, 24, who shews why שְׁלוֹם cannot be an 'adverbial accus.:' see also Ewald, § 296^b end.

⁴ Where to supply אֵיךְ (Kimchi, *Michlol*, 51^a ed. Lyck, 1842, and others) is unnecessary and wrong.

שָׁקַרְשׁ. Ezek. 27, 36, which throws light on 26, 21 and 16, 38 (after a verb of *making*): cf. the phrases כָּלָה יַשֶּׁה ס' *to make any one an utter end*, i. e. to exterminate him; *to make any one (all) neck*, or *shoulder* (Ex. 23, 27. Ps. 21, 13), i. e. to make them shew only their backs in flight.

190. The same tendency to express a compound idea by two terms standing in apposition may be traced in other cases, not of the same distinctive character as those which have been already discussed. It is doubtless, for instance, the explanation of those constructions in which analogy would lead us to expect the *st. constr.*, but in which we find in fact the *st. abs.*—with or without the article. Thus, in expressions indicating locality, Num. 21, 14 אֶת הַנְּחָלִים אֲרָנוֹן 34, 2 הארץ ישראל. Josh. 13, 5. 1 Sam. 4, 1 הָאֶבֶן הָעֹזֵר הָעֹזֵר the stone Help. 2 Sam. 24, 5 הַנְּחָל הַגֶּדֶר (Josh. 13, 9. 16 without הַגֶּדֶר). 1 Chr. 5, 9. Jer. 38, 6 הַבּוֹר מַלְכִיָּהוּ the cistern Malkiah (like 'the Victoria Tower'): similarly בְּאֵרֹת רְמֹתַיִם צוֹפִים, אֶבֶל בֵּית מַעֲכָה, אֶבֶל כְּרָמִים: עֶרְפָּה אֲבִי הָעֹזֵרִי, בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹן: in the latter instances, the word in apposition is used merely, as it would seem, as a distinctive adjunct². Further, 2 Sam. 10, 7 הַצֵּבָא הַנִּגְבָּרִים. 20, 23 הַצֵּבָא יִשְׂרָאֵל. 1 Ki. 16, 21 (so Josh. 8, 33. Ezra 9, 1) הָעָם יִשְׂרָאֵל. 2 Ki. 7, 13 Kt. הַחֶמֶן יִשְׂרָאֵל (Qri הַחֶמֶן יִשְׂרָאֵל, omitting the art.). 2 Chr. 13, 3 הֵיל גְבוּרֵי מַלְחָמָה. 14, 8. Jer. 8, 5. Lam. 2, 13 הַבַּת יְרוּשָׁלַיִם O daughter, Jerusalem. Ezek. 45, 16; Jer. 32, 12 הַדָּבָר הַקָּנוּי הַזֶּה the deed, the purchase = *the purchase-deed*. Ezra 2, 62 הַסֵּפֶר הַרְשָׁמָה the book, the registered⁴.

¹ Comp. in proper names יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, יוֹקָן, יוֹכָבֵד, which are different from the *verbal* types יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, יוֹשֻׁעַ, etc.

² Philippi, p. 95, compares the French 'Maison Orléans.'

³ Cf. with אֵה Ex. 7, 4. Ps. 116, 1.

⁴ Corresponding to 'the book *was* (not, contained) those registered.'

Obs. So the infin. after היום, Ex. 9, 18. 2 Sam. 19, 25. 2 Chr. 8, 16. Perhaps also Josh. 8, 11 המִלְחָמָה הַעַם the *war-folk* (v. 3 and usually צֵם המלחמה); and even 3, 14 הָאָרוֹן הַבְּרִית the ark, the covenant (the ark being regarded as the visible embodiment of the covenant: cf. 1 Ki. 8, 21). But it is surely too bold to extend this principle to Isa. 22, 17: גַּבַּר must either be a voc., or belongs to § 161. 3; cf. 24, 22.

Philippi would account similarly for פִּלְשֵׁתִים בְּקֶהֱתָ Isa. 11, 14; but here it can hardly be doubted that Nöldeke is right (GGA. 1871, p. 896) in regarding the punctuation בְּקֶהֱתָ as embodying a *particular interpretation*, that, namely, which is already found in the Targ. (בְּקֶהֱתָ) and is followed by Rashi, according to which בְּקֶהֱתָ is taken, not in connexion with פִּלְשֵׁתִים, but, like שכנם אהר, Zeph. 3, 9, and ܣܡ ܟܢܦܐ in Syriac, as a metaphorical expression = 'with one consent.' The same interpretation is also given of שכמה, Hos. 6, 9 (Tg. Ra. Kimchi, A. V.); but there, no less than here, the absence of the crucial אָחַד seems decisive against it. If, however, we abandon this interpretation, and connect כְּתָה with פִּלְשֵׁתִים, we must abandon also the punctuation which embodies it, and read the usual *st. constr.* form בְּקֶהֱתָ. A similar instance is afforded by 5, 30: here the old interpretation of 'צַר וְאִוֵּר וּג', still traceable in the characteristic paraphrase of the Targ., is 'moon and sun are darkened' etc., and this is represented both by the accentuation and the *qames* under ו, coupling together צַר וְאִוֵּר: but if that interpretation be given up, both the accents and the punctuation must be modified likewise. See further, 43, 28 Del. Ps. 10, 8. 10 (where the *points* express the sense, 'thy host,' and 'the host of the grieved ones').

191. A *double* determination by both a following genitive and a prefixed article is as a rule eschewed in Hebrew; though it is met with occasionally (Ewald, § 290^d), particularly in the later language. The following passages, however, in which, it will be noticed, the *st. constr.* is dependent not on the consonants but only on the vowel-points, are otherwise in such complete analogy with some of those just cited, that it is difficult not to believe the punctuation in error, and that the *st. abs.* should be

restored: 2 Ki. 16, 14 where *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַנְּחֹשֶׁת* would be in conformity with *הַבְּקָרָה*, *v.* 17; Ex. 39, 27 read *הַבְּתִנֹּת שֵׁשׁ הַיִּתָּד הָאֲרָנָה* (§ 193 or § 195); perhaps also Judg. 16, 14 *הַיִּתָּד הָאֲרָנָה*. Jer. 25, 26 *כָּל הָעָם הָאֲרָצָה* (cf. Ezek. 45, 16 *הָאֲרָצָה*).

Obs. 2 Ki. 23, 17 the last words belong to *וַיִּקְרָא*, not to *עָשִׂיהָ*; and if *בְּהַמִּזְבֵּחַ* be read, they run quite naturally 'against the altar *in* Bethel;'; cf. 1 Ki. 13, 4: the preposition *בְּ* is, of course, not at all necessary with a proper name compounded with *בַּיִת*: see 2 Ki. 10, 12. 29. 11, 3. 15 *end.* 20. 12, 11. 12 etc. (the note in the *Speaker's Comm.* ii. p. 545 is doubly wrong). In Ezek. 47, 15 *הַהַלְוִי* may well be an accus. of direction after *הַדֶּרֶךְ*; but 46, 19 (though the absolute form might be defended by the use of *קָדַשׁ* as predicate in 42, 14) must doubtless be left (cf. 42, 13), as also 2 Ki. 16, 17 (cf. 23, 17 *הַקָּבֵר*). 1 Ki. 14, 24. Ezra 8, 29, as cases of the art. with *st. constr.* And Gen. 31, 13. Isa. 36, 8. 16. Jer. 48, 32 can scarcely be otherwise explained: in the last three especially, the constr. as *accus. loci* (suggested by Philippi, p. 38 f.) would be very harsh, and not in accordance with usage. But Num. 22, 5. 1 Ki. 5, 1 *הַנָּהָר אֲרָץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים* is clearly 'the river *in* the land of' etc., comp. 2 Sam. 17, 26: in a *compound* proper name (those formed with *בֵּית* *passim*: similarly *בֵּית יְיָ*, *בֵּית אֱלֹהֵי*, etc.) locality is often expressed without the addition of *בְּ*. We do not find *שְׂמֵרוֹן*, *שֵׁלָה*, etc., unless a verb of *motion* has preceded (2 Ki. 10, 29 *בֵּית־יֵאל* but *בְּדָן*).

192. The same principle regulates the use of terms specifying weight, number, or measure:—

(1) Ex. 27, 16 *מָסַף עֶשְׂרִים אַמָּה* a veil, *twenty cubits*. 29, 40. 30, 24 *שִׁמֹן זַיִת הָיָה*. Num. 15, 4-7. 2 Sam. 24, 24 *בְּסָף שְׁקָלִים חֲמִשִּׁים*. 1 Chr. 22, 14 *זָהָב*. 2 Chr. 4, 2 a line, thirty in cubits. Ezek. 40, 5. 47, 4 *מַיִם בְּרַגְלָיִם*¹ *waters, knees*, in our idiom, waters reaching to the knees. Similar are Num. 9, 20 *מִסְפָּר*². Neh. 2, 12 *אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט*. Isa. 10, 7

¹ Cf. 'he is from me the length (Nom.) of a spear' (*Ber.* 1862, p. 51).

² Cf. Qor. 18, 10 *سِنِينَ عَدَدًا* years, a number [here, *numerous* years] (*ib.* p. 39). So in Syriac *ܡܫܘܠܐ ܡܩܬܘܠܐ ܡܩܬܘܠܐ*.

מַעַט לֹא גוֹרִים לֹא מַעַט. Gen. 41, 1 al. שְׁנַתַּיִם יָמִים two years, time. Dan. 10, 2. 3 : Judg. 19, 2 (where the order is reversed). Here, however, in Hebrew the *st. constr.* may be used, which is not permissible in Arabic¹: 1 Ki. 7, 10 אַבְנֵי עֶשֶׂר אַמּוֹת stones of 10 cubits. Deut. 4, 27 מִתֵּי מִסְפָּר 27.

(2) As predicate: Ezek. 45, 11 the bath and the ephah *shall be* one size². 2 Chr. 3, 4 the porch *was* 20 cubits. 11. Gen. 47, 9 מַעַט. Deut. 33, 6 וַיְהִי מִתֵּי מִסְפָּר 6 and let his men be *a number!* (i. e. numerable, few): cf. Isa. 10, 19.

193. There are two cases, however, which though they may at first sight appear similar to these, are in fact different: (I) when the first member of the pair is definite, the second indefinite; (II) where the measure, or weight, *precedes* the thing measured or weighed.

I. Let us take as an example 1 Chr. 28, 18 הַכְּרוּבִים זָהָב. This must not be rendered 'the cherubim of gold;' זהב is an accus. of limitation, defining more precisely the nature of the cherubim (called technically *temyiz*), just as in Arabic حَاتَمٌ حَدِيدًا (or الْحَاتَمُ), a (or the) ring *as regards* or *in* iron³. Examples of this idiom from Ex. 25 ff. are doubtful, as the words there are mostly under the government of a preceding עֲשֵׂה, or similar word; but it must be recognized in some passages which, though apparently simple, have in fact caused much perplexity to grammarians, viz. Ps. 71, 7 מִחֲסֵי עֹלָם; 2 Sam. 22, 33 מְעֵזֵי הַיָּל; Hab. 3, 8; Ezek. 16, 27 דְּרִבְרֵה זָמָה; Lev. 6, 3 כִּדּוֹ בָר, where the first word is defined by a pronominal suffix. In the

¹ 'A cord of a cubit' cannot be said in Arabic: only 'a cord, a cubit' (*ib.* p. 31: see the illustrations, pp. 39, 50 f.).

² Cf. 'an image, the size (Nom.) of a man' (*ib.* p. 57).

³ Philippi, p. 39; Wright, ii. p. 136.

first place, though Hebrew alone would not enable us to affirm it, these cannot be rendered (as some commentators have supposed) as if they involved a *double* annexion,—‘my refuge *of* strength’ etc. It is a general rule, writes Fleischer¹, in all the Semitic languages, that when a word is in the *st. constr.* with a following genitive, ‘its capacity to govern as a noun (seine nominale Rectionskraft) is thereby so exhausted that under no conditions can it govern a *second* genitive in a different direction.’ Accordingly, ‘my iron shield’ in Arabic can never be expressed by ‘my shield of iron’ (gen.), but only either in apposition ‘my shield, the iron,’ or, with the defining accus., ‘my shield, in iron:’ an example translated literally into Greek, runs *ἔνευκε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν θώρακά μου τὸν σίδηρον*. It follows that *עו, זמה*, etc. must be regarded as either in apposition, or as accusatives: the circumstance that they are all indeterminate (not *מחסי העו*) is in favour of the latter supposition,—my refuge *as to* or *for* strength, thy way *for* or *in* wickedness².

Obs. Lev. 26, 42 *בריתי יעקב* and Jer. 33, 20 *בריה היום* are probably similar: ‘my covenant—Jacob,’ ‘my covenant—the day,’ *בריתי* being determined *obliquely*, so to say, by the adjuncts *יעקב* and *היום* respectively: Ewald indeed (§ 211^b) compares *מלאתי משפט* etc.; but the personal pron. seems desiderated. Delitzsch, in his note on 2 Sam. 22 (at the end of Ps. 18, p. 195, ed. 3), adopting Nägelsbach’s remark that in certain cases the type *מְהַסֵּי עו* for the usual *מְהַסֵּה עוֹי* must have been a logical necessity, suggests that this transposition of the pron. suffix to the *nomen regens* may have been adopted thence into the *syntaxis ornata*; but have we any evidence that those cases were sufficiently numerous to give rise to the *tendency* to transpose which this explanation presupposes? Was

¹ *Berichte*, 18:6, p. 10; cf. Philippi, p. 14.

² So also Lee (§ 220. 3), citing in addition Lam. 4, 17.

not what to us appears to be a logical necessity avoided in Hebrew by an innate difference both of conception and expression?

In אִיבֵי שֶׁקֶר Ps. 35, 19. 69, 5; שֶׁקֶר שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר 38, 20, שֶׁקֶר is unquestionably an adverbial accus. *in falsehood* = falsely: cf. 119, 86. Ezek. 13, 22, and the frequent بَغِيًّا *greedily*, ظَلَمًا *oppressively*, in the Qor'an. The view that it may be a genitive, expressed in the earlier editions (and in the Engl. Tr.) of Delitzsch's commentary, is in his latest (1873) entirely abandoned. The ptc. with a suffix is followed by other adjuncts of an adverbial nature, 17, 9 בְּנַפֶּשׁ; 35, 19^b הַנֶּחֱמָה.

194. II. This case exemplifies the second type of apposition, referred to in § 186, 'a pound, gold,' in which, the first term denoting merely the unfilled measure, the term which follows it is the one of primary import. Here, however, though Arabic very often makes use of apposition, it does not do so exclusively: the article measured may be specified by being placed in the accus. (a pound *as to* or *in* gold)¹; and here also annexion (which was not allowable in a former case, § 192) may take the place of apposition, in Arabic no less than in Hebrew. But, as Hebrew does not mark the case-endings, where the *st. constr.* is not employed, it must remain uncertain whether the object measured was conceived in apposition, or as an accus. of limitation: there are analogies which perhaps favour the latter².

Instances are very frequent: Gen. 18, 6 קֶמַח 3 seáhs, meal (or, *in* meal). Ex. 9, 8. 16, 32 מֶלֶאֱ הָעֶמֶר כֶּן (so Num. 22, 18 מֶלֶאֱ בֵיתוֹ כֶּסֶף³). 28, 17 אַרְבַּעִים טוֹרִים אֲבָן

¹ Wright, ii. §§ 44^a, rem. *c*, p. 136; 94, rem. *b*: Lee, § 219. 1 *note*.

² Examples of the acc. of respect are numerous, Ewald, 281^c, 283^a: Job 15, 10 יָמִים 10 כִּבִּיר מֵאֲבִיךָ יָמִים 10. Ezek. 45, 14 הַהֵבָה הַשְּׂמִן is, however, a clear case of apposition.

³ An exact parallel is afforded by Qor. 3, 85 there shall not be

(39, 10 אבן). 29, 40 עֶשְׂרֵן סֵלָה a tenth (of an ephah), fine meal. Num. 5, 15 עֵשִׂירִית הַאִיפָה קֶמַח Ruth 2, 17 אִיפָה an ephah, barley. 1 Ki. 18, 32 זָרַע קֶאֱתִים. 2 Ki. 3, 4 100,000 צֹמֶר אֵילִים 100,000 rams, wool (i. e. their fleeces). 5, 17; and often after שקלים, etc., and (שקל being omitted) עֵשְׂרִים בְּסָף. Cf. 2 Sam. 24, 13 נִשְׁבַּע נְשָׁנִים רָעַב רָעַב. A similar usage prevails in the case of מִשְׁנָה, Gen. 43, 15 כֶּסֶף. Deut. 15, 18 (but some edd. read here מִשְׁנָה). Jer. 17, 18.

The construction of *numerals* falls under the same general principles: שלשה, חמשה, etc. are substantives and construed as such: שלשה בנים *lit.* a triad, sons (apposition), and so עשרים שקלים 20 *shekels*; but עשרים שנה 20 *in years* (accus.¹, שנה being indeterminate).

Obs. The principles of Semitic syntax thus established have a bearing on the much controverted passage Ps. 45, 7 בְּסֵאֵף אֱלֹהִים יָדָךְ. In addition to the ordinary rendering, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,' three others have been proposed: (1) 'Thy throne is God for ever and ever,' (2) 'Thy throne of God (or, Thy God's throne, i. e. Thy divinely established throne) is' etc. (Ges. *Jes.* i. p. 365). (3) 'Thy throne is God's throne (cf. 1 Chr. 29, 23) for ever and ever' (A. E.; Kimchi, *Michlol*, 51^a; Ges. *Thes.*; Ewald; Hitz.). The first of these, being felt to include an unsuitable comparison, has found few supporters in modern times: and Gesenius' supposition, implied in (2), that כסא is followed by two genitives in different relations, is exactly what is declared by Fleischer (cited § 193) to be inadmissible. But even (3) does not appear to be more tenable: the predicate, in the parallel instances (§ 188), is conceived always *in the nominative, not in the genitive*; so that the insertion of 'throne

accepted from one of them מִלְּאֵי אֶרֶץ זָהָב (= מלא הארץ זהב) *the fulness of the earth, gold*, where another reading is the accus. זָהָבָא 'in gold.' On the Syriac usage, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* (1880), § 214.

¹ So always in Arabic for numerals between 11-99 (Wright, § 99): cf. Philippi, p. 89, and see Aug. Müller, *Schulgramm.* § 468 f.

of' is plainly unauthorized. Can, however, 'Thy throne is God' be understood, on the analogy of the examples in § 189, to mean 'Thy throne is divine' (rather, perhaps, 'godly,' Mal. 2, 15)? All these examples, it was shewn, presuppose a relation of *identity* between the subject and the attribute predicated of it; and though it may be convenient to translate in English by an adjective, this translation is justified, not by having recourse to an ellipse, but by *the tacit assumption of that relation*. The ideas of *God* and *throne*, however, are so dissimilar, that it does not seem possible to class this passage in the same category. It is indeed urged by Hitzig that while עולם occurs frequently enough as an *indirect* predicate, only לעולם is used as the *direct* predicate: thus 10, 16 Yahweh reigneth עולם, but 106, 1 his mercy לעולם is for ever. Lam. 5, 19 נסאך לדור ודור. The observation is an acute one, and (I believe) correct: still, as we saw, words denoting time do stand as predicate, and as such are identified with the subject; can it be said that 'Thy throne is עולם' differs, so far as form is concerned, from 'we are המול,' Job 8, 9? At least, the identification of a divine throne with eternity seems easier than that of God with a human throne. Cf. 2 Chr. 12, 15^b.

Olshausen, admitting that Ezek. 41, 22 etc. are 'altogether different,' but yet feeling the difficulty of עולם, suggested that a *verb* had fallen out, and gives choice of four (בנה, הקים, כונן, הכין), one of which might be prefixed to נסאך: but this would render the first verse-half rather heavy, and Lagarde's סַעַר for ועַר (*Proph. Chald.* p. XLVII) is rhythmically preferable (see Ps. 89, 2). The proposal, which has also been made, to omit אלהים as a gloss, would surely leave the first clause singularly weak. I am bound to say, that the passage does not appear to me to be one in which the need for conjectural emendation is sufficiently clear to make it legitimate.

195. The analogy of the primary predicate is followed also by the *tertiary* predicate. Just as Hebrew says 'the altar *was* stone,' so it says, not 'he made the altar *of* stone,' but 'he made the altar, stone.' This is different from the inverted order, which also occurs, 'he made the stones an altar:': in the former 'he made the altar' is the chief thought, and is a complete sentence in itself; the

material is specified by being appended to the term 'altar' in apposition: in the latter the 'stones' are the principal idea, and the sentence is only completed by the addition of the word 'altar.'

(1) Examples are frequent:—Gen. 2, 7 ויעש את האדם ויטעו עפר מן הארץ and he made man, dust from the earth. Ex. 20, 25 לא תבנה אתהן גזית thou shalt not build them (of) hewn-stone. 25, 28. 26, 14. 15. 27, 1. 1 Ki. 7, 15. 27. Our idiom would here regularly insert *of*. And with the principal predicate *before* the verb:—Ex. 26, 1 ואת-המשכן ותעשה עטר יריעות כל בליו עשה נחשת 29. 28, 39^b. 38, 3 כל כליו עשה נחשת all its vessels he made (of) copper.

When, however, the material is to be particularly specified, that naturally stands first:—Ex. 25, 18 and thou shalt make two cherubim, gold; (here follow the closer directions) אתם מקשה תעשה תעשה beaten work shalt thou make them. 29^b. 39. 26, 1^b. 7^b. 31^b. Deut. 27, 6 אבנים שלמות Isa. 50, 3. תבנה את מזבח יי

(2) In all the preceding instances the verb goes closely with the *object made*, in those which follow it goes primarily with the *material*:—Gen. 28, 18 וישם אתה מצבה Ex. 12, 39 and they baked the dough ענת מצות (into) unleavened cakes. 30, 25 ועשית אתו שמן and thou shalt make it holy anointing oil (i. e. *into* etc.). 32, 4. Lev. 24, 5. Num. 17, 3. 4 and they beat them out (into) a covering for the altar. 1 Ki. 18, 32 ויבנה את האבנים מזבח Jer. 5, 22. 18, 4. Hos. 4, 8 their silver (which) עשו עצבים they made (into) idols. Amos 4, 13 עושה שחר עיפה *lit.* maker of the dawn darkness. Isa. 50, 2^b. 51, 10.

With the material or substance which is the *object* of the action preceding the verb:—Mic. 1, 7 ועצביה אשים ועצביה אשים 4, 13 וקרנך אשים ברזל and thy horn I will make

iron. Isa. 26, 1 salvation maketh he (to be) walls and bulwark. Ps. 91, 9. Job 28, 2 ואבן יצוק נחשת and stone one melteth (into) copper. Also Ezek. 35, 4 עריה חרבה אשים. Amos 5, 8 לילה החשיך יום day he darkeneth (to) night (cf. with ל, Job 17, 12 לילה ליום ישימו).

And with that which is the *result* of the action preceding the verb:— 1 Ki. 11, 34 בִּי נְשִׂיאַ אֲשֵׁיתָנִי. Ps. 39, 6. 84, 7. 89, 28 etc. Isa. 26, 18 *lit.* salvations (i. e. saved and safe) we cannot make the land: cf. with a passive verb, 24, 12. Job 22, 16 נהר יוצק יסודם (into) a stream is melted their foundation; also Isa. 26, 7.

Obs. I have multiplied examples here on account of their bearing on Ps. 104, 4 עֲשֵׂה מֵלֹאכֵי רוּחַ מִשְׂרָתֵי אֵשׁ לֵהֵט. Of these words two renderings, it will be clear, are quite legitimate: (1) 'maketh his messengers of winds' etc. (Del.); Ex. 25, 28 (37, 15. 28) would then be a precise *formal* parallel, וַעֲשֵׂה אֶת הַבְּדִים עֲצֵי שֹׁטִים, and the meaning would be that winds and fire are the elements of which the messengers are formed; and (2) 'maketh his angels to be winds' (LXX. Dr. Kay), i. e. transforms them into winds and fire (arrays them 'with the outward properties of physical phenomena') [the Targ., less literally, 'making his messengers (אֲוֹנָרִי not his *angels*) *swift as* wind, his ministers *strong as* the glowing fire']. Can the words, however, be rendered, (3) 'who maketh his messengers the winds, his ministers the flaming fire?' Do they express not that God makes his messengers of winds, or transforms them (upon occasion) into winds, but that he uses the winds in his service? There is unquestionably much authority for this view: it was adopted without hesitation or remark by Rashi (עוֹשֶׂה אֶת הַרוּחֹת שְׁלוּחָיו), A. E. (quoting Ps. 148, 8), Kimchi; and among moderns by Ewald, Hitz., Hupf.: it is also strongly commended by the general purport of the Psalm, which (as is well drawn out by the Dean of Peterborough, in a paper in the *Expositor*, Dec. 1878, p. 461) is to shew how the various *natural* agents are appropriated to different uses by the Creator. This, the same paper further tells us, was so strongly felt by the late Bishop Thirlwall, that nothing but the 'irresistible compulsion of a grammatical necessity,' derived from the order of the words, forced him

to reject the rendering proposed: the Dean himself felt similarly until a comparison of Isa. 37, 26. 60, 18^b led him to think the difficulty might be overcome.

Where authorities are thus divided an opinion must be offered with diffidence: still *presumption* appears to me to be unfavourable to (3). Let us vary the phrase in Micah with the view of producing one as parallel as possible to the one before us. הַשֵּׁם קִרְנָיו בְּרִזְלֵי וואתנה לבושי שק 12, 69. Ps. 147, 14 (השם גבולך שלום): the *horns* would be the primary idea, and the object of the sentence would be to state that they were of iron: had the intention been to express that the iron was made into horns, the instances (2) seem to make it plain that the order must have been הַשֵּׁם בְּרִזְלֵי קִרְנָיו: 104, 3. 18, 12. Jer. 17, 5 הַשֵּׁם בְּשֵׁר וְרוּעוֹ. Job 31, 24. 38, 9 בְּשׂוֹמוֹ עֵינַי לְבוֹשׁוֹ. Isa. 54, 12 וְשִׁמְתִי כְדָכָד לְשִׁמְשׁוֹתֶיךָ (where the following clauses with ל can have no retrospective bearing on the construction of the first) would then be similar. If the analogy here suggested be just, it cannot but confirm the doubts entertained by Bishop Thirlwall against the rendering 'maketh the winds his messengers' etc.: would not the word *maketh*, also, in this expression, implying application only, and not constitution, be the equivalent of שָׁם rather than עָשָׂה? Isa. 37, 26 the strong term הַשֵּׁם לְהַשְׂאוֹת limits far more than עָשָׂה the sense of what follows: 60, 18^b הַשֵּׁם הוֹמוֹתֶיךָ יְשׁוּעָה וְקִרְאוֹת הַשֵּׁם הוֹמוֹתֶיךָ as compared with הַשֵּׁם יְשׁוּעָה causes it to be naturally taken as the primary object; and in fact the same definiteness must be felt to give הַשֵּׁם מְלֹאכֵינוּ an analogous position in relation to רוֹחוֹת. Nor would 60, 17^b, which might also be appealed to, be more decisive: the rendering of A. V., Hitz., and Dr. Kay cannot be shewn to be insufficient.

After all does the first rendering, 'Who maketh his messengers of winds, his ministers of the flaming fire,' afford such an inadequate sense? Though it may not state it so directly as 'who maketh the winds his messengers etc.,' does it not still clearly imply that the winds and fire are the personified instruments executing the Divine purpose, and accordingly express substantially that appropriation of natural agents which the Dean of Peterborough rightly desiderates?

APPENDIX V.

1. *The Casus Pendens.*

196. In prose and poetry alike, terseness and simplicity are the notes of Hebrew style. A sentence may indeed be prolonged indefinitely, when its different parts are connected merely by *and* (Deut. 8, 12-17. 24, 1-4. Jer. 13, 13); but otherwise, if it be at all involved, it speedily becomes unwieldy. One of the secrets therefore of writing a lucid and classical Hebrew style is to break up a sentence into manageable subdivisions. In poetry each verse must have its own rhythmical scheme: it must be articulated, rhythmically and logically, into well-defined clauses; each of these must as a rule not consist of more than three or four words; and if for the sake of breadth or variety, a clause contains more, it should be such as to admit naturally of a pause in the course of it (Ps. 27, 4. 42, 5. 65, 10). It follows from this that a piece of modern English poetry, for instance, can seldom be rendered literally into Hebrew; its long sentences must be transformed so as to be capable of distribution into parallel clauses; and the abundance of epithets which in our eyes add richness and beauty, but which are incompatible with the light movement of a Hebrew lyric, must be sacrificed, and expressions chosen which, while brief,

suggest them more or less by implication. Similar principles regulate the style of Hebrew prose. Sentences must be connected in the simplest manner possible: co-ordination must often take the place of subordination (pp. 184, 215 f.): a series of conditional clauses must be relieved by והיה (§ 121), and a phrase like *iva o'tav e'loth* (Luke 14, 10) must be rendered, not by למען כאשר יבא, but either למען יבא... ואמר or והיה כבוא... ואמר (comp. Deut. 8, 12 f. A.V. and Heb.).

197. One of the commonest and most characteristic artifices of which Hebrew avails itself for the purpose of avoiding an unwieldy sentence is the *casus pendens* (in Arabic, the nominative). This possesses more advantages than one: not only does it give the subject (or object) a prominent place at the beginning, and ease the body of the sentence by permitting a light pronominal suffix to take its place: but it further rounds the sentence off, and gives it an ending upon which the voice may suitably rest (e. g. Job 29, 16. Ps. 90, 17^e).

The following are the principal types:—

(1) Gen. 28, 13 the land which thou liest upon, לך אתהננה to thee will I give it and to thy seed (substitute אתהננה for אתהננה, and it will be found that, *however the words be arranged*, the sentence will lose either in neatness or expressiveness, or both). 21, 13. 26, 15. Deut. 2, 23. 7, 15. 14, 27. Josh. 9, 12 (אתו) this our bread—hot did we provide it from our houses, when etc. 2 Ki. 1, 4. 10, 29. Isa. 1, 7. 9, 1 (balance and parallelism far better preserved than by על יושבי... אור ננה:). 15, 7^b. 26, 11 accents (very harsh). 42, 3. 53, 4. 59, 12^b. Ezek. 32, 7. 8. Job 17, 15.

(2) Slightly different are Gen. 34, 8 שכם בני חשקה

ובלע"ל 23, 6. נפשו. Deut. 32, 4. 33, 17. 2 Sam. 21, 5 f. 23, 6 בלע"ל but worthless men—as thorns are all of them to be driven away. Ps. 10, 5. 15 יָרָע 11, 4 (2 Chr. 16, 9). 46, 5. 89, 3. 90, 10. Isa. 11, 10 (cf. Ezek. 10, 11^b). 13, 17. 15, 5^b. 19, 17 Hitz. Ch. (accentuating אֹתָהּ אֵלָיו יִפְחָד). 16, 4 Del. (unless we should read נִדְחֵי for נִדְחֵי). 27, 2 the vineyard of wine—לָהּ עֵנוּ sing ye of it! 32, 7 כִּלְיוֹ בְּלִיֹּ וְרָעִים. 34, 3. 41, 29. 65, 25; after a partcp. 1 Sam. 3, 11. Prov. 11, 26. 13, 3.

(3) Judg. 17, 5 והאיש מיכה לו בית אלהים. Lev. 7, 7. 33. Job 22, 8.

(4) With a personal pronoun as subject, Gen. 17, 4 ואני הנה בריתי אתך (Isa. 59, 21). 24, 27. 48, 7. 49, 8 Judah! אתה יורוך אחיך *thou*—thy brethren shall praise thee. Deut. 18, 14^b. 1 Sam. 12, 23. Ezek. 4, 12 (30, 18). 9, 10. 33, 17^b. Job 21, 4. So ואני הנני Gen. 9, 9 etc.

(5) Gen. 42, 11 all of us—sons of one man are we. 2 Sam. 5, 1.

(6) The *casus pendens* is sometimes marked as the object, by את being prefixed: Gen. 13, 15. 21, 13. 1 Sam. 25, 29^b. Lev. 3, 4. Isa. 51, 22. Ezek. 16, 58; 2 Ki. 9, 27 גם אותו הכוהו; Gen. 47, 21. 1 Sam. 9, 13^b for *him* just to-day—ye will find him.

Instances in which the predicate is introduced by ! or ·! will be found §§ 123 a, 127 a.

Obs. 1. The same principle with ל, 1 Sam. 9, 20. 2 Sam. 6, 23. Josh. 17, 3; ב, Neh. 9, 29. Ps. 35, 8; גל, Jer. 50, 21. Ezek. 1, 26^b; מן, Gen. 2, 17. These examples differ from those cited § 123 *Obs.*, as will be clear if a couple be compared: 'in his iniquity which he hath done בן ימיה, *in it* shall he die,' here the stress falls evidently upon בן ימיה; but in ובמשפטיך הטאריבם 'and against thy statutes, they have sinned against them,' the emphasis is rather on the entire thought.

Obs. 2. Sometimes the subject, instead of being represented by a pronoun, is repeated, or replaced by an equivalent or alternative expression:—Lev. 7, 19^b. 17, 3 f. 18, 9 (20, 6, p. 178). 22, 22 (אלה). 23, 2 (מורעדי). 25, 44. 27, 32. Num. 14, 7 (lightening the sentence by making הארץ alone, without the relative clause, the *immediate* subject of the predication: so Jer. 27, 8 (הגוי). 31, 35. 1 Ki. 10, 28^b. The reference back is looser, Ezek. 1, 13. 10, 10. 22; Jer. 44, 16. Dan. 1, 20 (see § 127 γ).

Isa. 1, 13^b is to be explained on the same principle, 'new moon and sabbath, the calling a convocation—I cannot away with them' would be what analogy would lead us to expect; but the prophet heightens the effect of his words by substituting for *them*, a fresh object of his indignation און ועצרה. Jer. 13, 27 is rhythmically similar: 'thine adulteries, thy neighings, the lewdness of thy whoredom—upon the hills in the field have I seen thy abominations!' the last word שקוציך pointing back to, and resuming, גאופיך וגו'. Comp. 6, 2. Deut. 32, 14^b.

Isa. 49, 19, the original subject הרבוהיך וגו', as the sentence advances, is left in suspense, and 'replaced by *thou*, the subject of הצרי' (Hitz.).

198. If this use of the casus pendens be borne in mind, it will enable us to understand in what sense the assertion is true that the *copula* is expressed by the pron. of the 3rd person. Of course the mere juxtaposition of subj. and pred.—the latter as a rule standing first—is sufficient in Hebrew for predication, e. g. Gen. 3, 6 כי טוב הָעֵץ. 4, 13 עֹנֵי מְנַשֵּׂא : נְדוּל : of what nature, then, are the instances in which the pronoun is employed as well? Two cases must be distinguished: those, viz., in which the pronoun is *interposed* between the subj. and pred., and those in which it *follows* the predicate. Let us take the latter case first. Such a sentence as 'these men are at peace with us' could be expressed by שלמים אתנו האנשים : האלה : but the form Gen. 34, 21 הם שְׁלָמִים הָאֵלֶּה הָאֲנָשִׁים אֵתָּנוּ, lit. 'these men—they are at peace with us,' is at

once less cumbrous and less abrupt: the subj. moreover has greater prominence, and at the same time the pred., still preceding **הם** as before it preceded **האנשים**, is not entirely deprived of emphasis. The pronoun, however, does not *express* the copula: **הם שלמים אתנו** implies the copula, and is a complete sentence in itself, and the pred. **שלמים** is only referred to **האנשים האלה** by these words being prefixed as a *casus pends*. The advantage of such a form when the subj. consists of a long relative clause will be evident. Gen. 30, 33. 31, 16 all the wealth which etc. **הוא ולבנינו לָנוּ** *it is ours and our children's* (how stiff the sentence would be if it read **כי לנו ולבנינו כל העשר** (וגו'). 43. 41, 25 the dream of Phar'oh, **הוא אחד** *it is one*. 45, 20. 47, 6. 48, 5 (**לי הם**). Josh. 5, 15. 6, 19. Isa. 1, 13. 41, 22 (Gen. 23, 15. Num. 16, 11). 49, 21 but these—**איפה הם** where were they? with a partcp. Ps. 50, 6 for God—he is about to judge. Mic. 7, 3. Jer. 6, 28.

Obs. Zeph. 2, 12 and ye, Cushites—slain of the sword are they! with a change of person, after the opening vocative, as in **כלם** Mic. 1, 2 = 1 Ki. 22, 28, and regularly in such cases as Isa. 22, 16. 47, 8. 54, 1 shout, O barren one **לא ילדה**, *woman that hath not borne!*

Ps. 76, 8 **אתה נורא אתה** *thou—thou art to be feared* (cf. Gen. 37, 30^b), recalls the Syriac usage: Matth. 26, 73 **אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה**. John 4, 12. Comp. Judg. 5, 3 **אֲנִי לַיהוָה**—*I—to Yahweh I will sing*.

199. The case is different, when the pronoun stands *before* the predicate, which is then mostly (not always, Prov. 10, 18. 28, 26) definite. Now there is a difference between the definite and indefinite predicate: being defined, the pred. does not merely refer the subj. to a class, it *circumscribes* the class in such a way as to make the subj. identical with it: thus, to say **τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιῶν** implies that nothing besides can claim that

epithet, and a reflex emphasis is accordingly thrown back upon τὸ πνεῦμα. It follows further that, subj. and pred. being co-extensive, the proposition is a convertible one, and it is immaterial which of the two terms is considered to be the subject, though as a rule the one which from its position is the first to be apprehended *definitely* by the mind, will be most naturally so regarded. Now though the *mere* need of separating subj. and pred. in these cases (Ewald, § 297^b) does not seem a sufficient explanation of the insertion of the pronoun (for, as the otherwise similar instances § 296^a, and above § 135. 7 shew, it could be dispensed with), it will not be difficult after what has been said to conjecture the motives which must have dictated its use: in virtue of its power of resuming and reinforcing the subject (§ 123 *Obs.*¹), the pronoun at once makes it plain which of the two terms is the subject, and at the same time gives effect to the emphasis which, it has been just shewn, in these cases belongs to it. Observation corroborates the justice of this explanation. If the instances be examined, it will be found that, while they are much less common than those explained in § 198, the pronoun as a rule is evidently meant to be emphatic: in a large proportion of cases, consisting of the phrases יהוה הוא האלהים (Deut. 4, 35. 39. 7, 9. 1 Ki. 18, 39 etc.), יהוה הוא הנלחם לכם, or יהוה הוא ההולך לפניכם (Deut. 3, 22²).

¹ Add (from one book) Prov. 6, 32. 11, 28. 13, 13. 21, 29. 22, 9. 24, 12. 28, 26; more rarely, where the pred. is a partcp. (undefined), Deut. 31, 3. 1 Sam. 1, 13. Josh. 22, 22 (יודע parallel to יודע: cf. also 23, 3 and 5).

² Where the stress is on *who* is הנלחם לכם: 4, 24 on the contrary the stress is on *what* Yahweh is, viz. אש אוכלת.

31, 6. 8 al.), this is unmistakable¹. Thus יהוה הוא האלהים is 'Yahweh, *He* (and none else) is the God:' Deut. 10, 9 הוא נחלתו יהוה יהוה Yahweh, *He* is his inheritance. But the pronoun is not the copula: הוא נחלתו (as v. 21 תהלתך הוא shews) is a complete sentence; and the pronoun here merely resumes the subj. *with* emphasis, just as when in a different position, § 198, it resumes it *without* emphasis. In both cases alike, then, the copula is not expressed by the pronoun, but is *understood*: in translating, however, it is generally convenient to drop the pronoun, and hence *the substantive verb seems to be its only representative*. Further instances:—Gen. 2, 14. 19 (הוא resuming the rel. clause *whatever* . . . ; cf. with a verb 15, 4. 44, 17). 9, 18 וְהָם and Ham, *he* was the father etc. 15, 2. 42, 6 ויוסף הוא השליט and Joseph, *he* was the ruler over the land, *he* was the counsellor. Deut. 12, 23 הדרם הוא הנפש. Isa. 9, 14. 33, 6. Ezek. 27, 13. 17. 21 f. (cf. 23, 45. 36, 7). Hos. 11, 5². Cf. Num. 16, 3 בלם קדשים.

200. Does הוא do duty for the copula when inserted between אָתָּה or אֲנִי and the predic., as Ps. 44, 5 אָתָּה הוּא מִלְּפָנַי? Here we must either (with Roorda, § 563, and Delitzsch on Isa. 37, 16) suppose that הוא strengthens the preceding pronoun, as though equivalent to *αὐτός*—'*thou,*

¹ Cf. the 'pronoun of separation' in Arabic (Wright, ii. § 124).

² So ὁ Θεός ἐστίν ὁ ἐνεργῶν = האלהים הוא הנוצר. The inserted pronoun doubtless in time lost its distinctive force, and ultimately became little more than the copula; but Neh. 2, 20. 1 Chr. 11, 20 (Ryssel, p. 63) do not differ from Gen. 24, 7. 2 Sam. 14, 19^b: Esth. 2, 14 הוא is required on account of the partcp.; and אַתָּה הוא Neh. 9, 7 is by no means *peculiar* to the latest books. With the use of the pronoun to signify the presence of the subject, Lev. 13, 4 (noted on the same page), comp. 1 Sam. 20, 33. Isa. 36, 21.

he (and none else), art my king,' or (with Ewald, § 297^b *end*¹) regard it as anticipating the predicate—*thou art he*—my king. The rarity with which הוא is appended to a noun—Isa. 7, 14 הוא יי. Num. 18, 23 הלוי הוא. Esth. 9, 1 stand perhaps alone in O. T.—the difficulty of separating the noun from the predicate—Isa. 52, 6 from אני הוא המדבר etc. and אתה הוא Ps. 102, 28 (where הוא is, of course, predicate), and the analogous . . . מי הוא (if not . . . הם אלה as well), where the pronoun cannot be accounted for except on the assumption that it is anticipatory, favour the latter supposition. The other instances are 2 Sam. 7, 28 אתה הוא האלהים. Isa. 37, 16. 43, 25 אני הוא. 51, 9. 10. 12. Jer. 14, 22. Neh. 9, 6. 2 Chr. 20, 6. So Dan. 2, 38. 5, 13 (Chald.).

Obs. 1. 1 Chr. 21, 17. Ezek. 38, 17 also, הוא is clearly predicate. The change of person which follows in these passages (*κατὰ σύνθεσιν*) is very unusual: Jer. 49, 12 ואתה הוא נקה הנקה may, however, perhaps offer a parallel³—the relative being omitted (§ 201. 2); see also Judg. 13, 11. Neh. 9, 7: and cf. in Syriac, Wright, *Apocr. Acts of Apostles*, pp. 179, 12. 180, 3. 198, 11 al.; *Acta S. Pelagiae*, pp. 3, 20. 8, 7.

Obs. 2. Ezra 5, 11 (Chald.) . . . אנחנו המו is quite in accordance with the Syriac usage, Luke 22, 67 *אנכי יסו חקסלו* if *thou art the Christ*. 70, and often. Matth. 5, 13 *אנכי יסו חקסלו* if *ye are the salt of the earth*.

201. (1) Another class of cases, however, though a small one, exists, in which the predicate standing first, the pronoun is found before the *subject*. Isa. 51, 19 *שתים הנה*

¹ So *Gramm. Arab.* § 657; and Aug. Müller, § 499.

² Where *I am he* (sc. that I have ever been) = 'I am the same,' predicating the identity of an individual with himself: but whether הוא can predicate the identity of *different* individuals, as many commentators suppose on Job 3, 19, appears to me exceedingly doubtful.

³ Otherwise Ewald, § 314^a (*du selbst*): cf. the 'enclitic' *סו*, Nöldeke, § 221.

קראתיך. Prov. 30, 24. 29. Cant. 6, 8 יונתי 9. Lam. 1, 18, cf. 1 Chr. 9, 26 (המה): how these are to be understood will appear from a comparison of Prov. 6, 16. 30, 15. 18, cf. 1 Sam. 6, 9: the pronoun in all alike is an imperfect anticipation of the subject, which in the former is completed by the *noun* following, just as in the latter it is completed by the relative clause following: 'four things are they, the little ones of the earth' is quite parallel to 'three things are they, (which) are too wonderful for me,' 'three things are they, (which) be not satisfied,' 'an accident is it, (that) hath befallen us.'

Obs. The pronoun anticipates the subj. rather differently, Ezek. 11, 15. 21, 16. And may not Isa. 10, 5 וזמי הוא בידם ומטה הוא most easily construed similarly? the order, and (in the Hebrew) the rhythm, of 'and a staff is it in their hand, mine indignation' closely resembles that of 'to us is it given, the land, for a possession.'

(2) The pronoun is used very similarly after מי:—Gen. 27, 33 מי הצד ציד הוא הצד ציד *who* then is *he*—the one that hunted venison? Ps. 24, 10; elsewhere with the finite verb, the relative being omitted, Isa. 50, 9 (cf. 60, 8. 1 Sam. 26, 14 קראתה (מי אתה קראתה). Job 4, 7 *who* is *he* נָקַי אֲבָר (that) perished innocent? 13, 19 al.; and in the plural, Zech. 1, 9. 4, 5 מה המה אלה *what* are *they*—these? = what are these? (Ewald, § 325^a.)

(3) It is found, thirdly, in the formulae . . . אלה הם and (in the sing.) . . . זה הוא. The first of these, if Noldius is to be trusted, occurs only Gen. 25, 16. Lev. 23, 2 אלה הם מועדי. Num. 3, 20. 21. 27. 33. 1 Sam. 4, 8. 1 Chr. 1, 31. 8, 6. 12, 15, the construction without הם being far more common (Gen. 36, 5. 12 etc.). In 1 Sam. 4, אלה has a disjunctive accent, and the pronoun following seems clearly intended to give it emphasis—'these—*they* (= eben

diese) are the gods which smote' etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 28, 23 and Wright, ii. § 130); but the other passages are different, and אלה is apparently devoid of any particular stress, so that it is most natural to regard הם, as הוא above, to be merely anticipatory. If this explanation be rejected, it can only be supposed that, though originally הם had an independent emphasis, this was in course of time lost, and the combination used without regard to it.

Of . . . זה הוא, I doubt if further examples can be found than 1 Chr. 22, 1. Qoh. 1, 17; but it is frequent in post-Biblical Hebrew (where the two words even coalesce into one זהו). Qoh. 2, 23 גם זה הבל הוא 5, 18, where the order is different, belong rather to § 198; and in 4, 8^b. 6, 2^b הוא and זה form part of distinct clauses.

Obs. In Chaldee, comp. (1) Dan. 2, 9 (. . . הדרא היא); (2) Dan. 3, 15^b. Ezra 5, 4; (3) Dan. 2, 28 (. . . רנהה הוא). 4, 27 (. . . רא היא); and see Ps. 119, 84 Pesh. . . *ܠܟܢ*, and Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 311.

2. Some Uses of the Infinitive with Lamed.

202. The use of the infinitive with יֵשׁ and אֵין does not differ substantially from the corresponding Greek construction with ἔστω and οὐκ ἔστω respectively: the one affirms, the other denies, the action indicated by the verb, not as a particular past or future occurrence, but (in virtue of the signification of the inf. and ל) as an intention capable of execution *in the abstract*: i. e. its possibility generally.

(1) 2 Sam. 14, 19 אִישׁ לְהַמִּין לְיָמִין אִם אִישׁ לְהַמִּין לְיָמִין if it is possible to go to the right hand or to the left of all that the king has said! 2 Ki. 4, 13 הֲיִשׁ לְרִפְרֵי לִךְ can (I) speak for thee to the king? 2 Chr. 25, 9; but the usage only becomes frequent later: Esth. 4, 2 אִין לְבוֹא 8, 8. Ezra 9, 15. 1 Chr. 23, 26 וְגַם

לשאת ללויים אין לשאת for the Levites also *it was not* (i. e. *they had not*) to bear. 2 Chr. 5, 11 *it was not* possible to keep the courses. 20, 6¹ none *can* stand in conflict with thee (עם as Ps. 94, 16). 22, 9. 35, 15 (had no need), cf. v. 3. Qoh. 3, 14. Once without ל, Ps. 40, 6 *there is no comparing* unto thee, οὐκ ἔστι παραβάλλειν σοί: cf. Ezek. 18, 3.

(2) Where לא is found instead of אין, it denies more absolutely, and categorically, אין implying that though the attempt to do the act would be folly, still it might be made, but לא implying that the conditions are such that it would be (or actually was) out of the question altogether:—Judg. 1, 19 . . . כִּי לֹא לְהוֹרִישׁ (where אין would not have been strong enough). Amos 6, 10 *there is no* mentioning the name etc. (for dread of the consequences). 1 Chr. 5, 1 וְלֹא לְהִתְיַחֵשׁ and he *could not be* reckoned for the birthright. 15, 2 לֹא לְשִׂאת (must not); and in Chaldee, Dan. 6, 9. Ezra 6, 8.

203. With the substantive verb, the inf. and ל expresses naturally the idea of *destination*:—Num. 8, 10 וְהָיָה לְעֹבֵד. 24, 22 יְהִיָּה לְבָעֵר. Qáyin shall be *for consuming*. Deut. 31, 17. Isa. 5, 5. 6, 13. 37, 26; cf. 44, 15. 2 Ki. 16, 15^b; and with a passive verb, Ezek. 30, 16 לְהִבְקַע. Scarcely different is כִּה לַעֲשׂוֹת *quid est faciendum?* Isa. 5, 4. 2 Chr. 25, 9 al.

204. This usage may lead us on to the so-called ‘periphrastic future.’ Here the inf. with ל, expressing as usual a direction, tendency, or aim, forms the sole predicate: the subject, as a rule, stands first so as to engage

¹ But 14, 10 is different: there is none *with thee* (= *beside* or *like thee*: cf. Ps. 73, 25) to help (and decide: cf. Lev. 26, 12. 33) between the mighty and (him that hath) no strength (constr. of לאִין כִּה as Isa. 40, 29). Comp. Ruth 4, 4.

the mind, the purpose which is postulated for it follows; and thus the idea arises of an inevitable sequence, or obligation, though not one of a formal and pronounced character, which is expressed in Hebrew by other means¹. Hos. 9, 13 להורג בניו and Ephraim *is for bringing forth* his sons to the slayer,—or as this is the entire scope and object in regard to which Ephraim is here considered—*is to* or *must* bring forth. Isa. 10, 32 yet to-day (such is his haste) לעמד בנב in Nob *is he for* tarrying, or *must* he tarry. 38, 20 להושיעני יי *is ready to* save me, A. V. Jer. 51, 49². Hab. 1, 17³. Ps. 32, 9. 49, 15 and their form לשאול is for the wasting away of She'ol⁴ = must She'ol waste away. 62, 10. Prov. 18, 24. 19, 8 a man of understanding טוב למצא *will be finding* prosperity. 20, 25 *will have to* enquire. Job 30, 6. 1 Chr. 22, 5 לבנות *must be* built so as to etc. Ezra 10, 12 (accents). Qoh. 3, 15.

More rarely of past time:—2 Sam. 4, 10 אשר לתתי לו *cui dandum erat mihi*. 2 Ki. 13, 19 להכות *percutiendum erat* quinquies aut sexies; and after an *implied* injunction 1 Chr.

¹ By the addition of על (on the analogy of עלי אלהים נדריך, Ps. 56, 13); as 2 Sam. 18, 11 להקח לך and it would have been *incumbent upon* me to give thee. Neh. 13, 13; or of ל, Mic. 3, 1. 2 Chr. 13, 5. 20, 17. 26, 18: 1 Sam. 23, 20 והקנינו והקנינו והקנינו and it shall be our place (*or for us*) to deliver him etc.

² 'Yea, Babylon must fall' (Ew., Hitz., Graf): but Rashi paraphrases חללי ירושל בה היתה לנפול; and similarly Kimchi, A. V.

³ Where Del. remarks that (e.g.) לעשות may have the signification of either *est facturus, est faciendum, est faciendo*,—the tense of the subst. verb (which is implied in the construction itself) being determined naturally by the connexion.

⁴ Construction as Ex. 17, 1. 2 Sam. 16, 2 לאכול הנערים for the eating of the young men. 19, 20^b.

9, 25. 2 Chr. 8, 13 (cf. Gen. 42, 25); and, more freely, 11, 22 להמליכו כי for (it was his purpose) to make him king. 12, 12 ולא להשחית and *was no longer for* destroying utterly¹. 26, 5 ויהי לדרש and he *set himself* etc. 36, 19². Also Gen. 15, 12. Josh. 2, 5 the gate *being about to be shut*.

In a question:—Gen. 30, 15 וְלִקְהָתָה and art thou for taking? Esth. 7, 8. 2 Chr. 19, 2 לעזר ה' לרשע wilt thou help the *wicked*? cf. Ex. 2, 14 with אומר.

Obs. 1. Isa. 44, 14 לְכִרְתָּהּ, if the reading be correct, must be also added, 'a man *prepares to*—or *must*—hew him cedars;' for it can scarcely be supposed that this is an isolated example of a real impf. in ל, such as is met with in Daniel and Ezra (להוין, להוון, להוא), in the Targ. of Ps.-Jon. Ex. 22, 24 (להוי), in the Talmud (e.g. דליהנו *ut dent*, לולו *eant*, דלשמעו, דליקומו, לימרו, דלייהו *ut afferant*, etc.), in Mandaic (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.* §§ 166, 196), and also, as it would seem, in Assyrian. On this, in addition to the references given by Dr. Pusey, *Daniel*, pp. 49, 623 (ed. 3), see Dietrich, *Abhandlungen* (1846), pp. 182, 186, and Lowe, *Fragment of Talmud Babli* (Cambridge, 1879), p. 1 ff., who shews, by instances, that it has no distinctively jussive force, but that, as Nöldeke says, both in Mandaic and in the Talmud, it interchanges freely with the form in נ, without any difference in signification. Indeed, the impf. in ל seems to be but a phonetic variation of that in נ, and should doubtless be altogether disconnected from the Rabbinical infin. with ל (see Obs. 2), although, as the two are apt to approximate closely both in usage and form—comp. e.g. Dukes, *Blumenlese*, No. 44 (p. 96), 465 (fut.), 599, 601, 662 (infin.)—they have been supposed by some to have a common origin³.

¹ Comp. the use of ל ולא 28, 21. 1 Chr. 21, 17.

² Perhaps also Ezra 3, 12^b, unless בהרוצה בשמחה be here the principal predicate: cf. the use of ב, 1 Chr. 15, 19. 21. 16, 6. 25, 6. 2 Chr. 13, 10 *end.* 16, 10. 35, 14.

³ In some of the passages in which this form is cited as a future, it seems, from the construction, to be really an *infin.*: thus Ex. 10, 28 Jer. למלך שבע שנים ולא להוי שמע למלך; הוא צבא למכות ולא להוי שמע למלך; Fürst, *Perlenschnüre*,

Obs. 2. This usage is employed freely in later Hebrew; e. g. *Aboth* 4, 22 Jost (31 Taylor) הילודים למות והמתים להחיות והחיים לידון the born *are to die*, and the dead *are to revive*, and the living *are to be judged*; and in such formulae as תלמוד לומר the Scripture *means to say*, *Kerithoth* 9, 6 and often; מימא איכא numquid *dicendum?* ליחוש *timendum est*, ליחני *docendum erat*, לן אה *dicas nobis tu*, לך *dicam tibi* כהצות, למה ליה למימר כהצות, why *was he* (obliged) *to say* כהצות? *et agendum erat* inverso modo (Dietrich, l. c., p. 184 f.). Cf. the common לו לומר היה לו לומר *he ought to have said*.

205. Another usage of the inf. and ל is to be connected with that *gerundial* use of this idiom, which is well known (Ewald, 280^d: 1 Sam. 12, 17. 14, 33 לו, the people are sinning לֹא־כָל so *as to eat* = *in eating* with the blood. 20, 20 so *as to aim*, or *aiming*, at a mark. 36. 1 Chr. 22, 5 (להגדיל); its use, viz. after a particle of comparison, where the sense *so as to* merges into that of *in respect of*. Gen. 3, 22 ye shall be as one of us לָרַעַת so *as to know* etc., which does not differ from *in respect of knowing* good and evil. 41, 19 לרע¹. Prov. 26, 2 בעפור לנוד כעפור לעוף (cf. 25, 3). 2 Sam. 14, 25 now as Absalom there was no man fair in Israel מֵאִד לְהַלֵּל—either, *for praising* (= to be praised) exceedingly, LXX αἰνετὸς σφόδρα, or *in respect of praising*. Ezek. 38, 9. 16. 1 Chr. 12, 8 כעבאים על ההרים לְמַהֵר. A comparison of these passages makes it probable that Isa. 21, 1 is to be interpreted similarly: ‘as

p. 44, 39 (= Esth. 1, 2 Targ. II) after זכא (p. 43, 26 is למהוי). p. 62, 4 והוא אנה פקידא . . . יהא רצוא קרמך. Instances of the inf. Qal without מ are met with occasionally in Chaldee: Ezra 5, 13 לבנא. Gen. 9, 14 Onk. בעננוהי. 49, 6 קבול (absol.). Lev. 13, 7 Ps.-Jon. הלוכי. 1's. 105, 14 לשלוביהון, 109, 23 בצליותיה. Cant. 1, 8 למחי; in the Talm. נכנסין לוכל intransit ad edendum, לימא etc., and להוי itself, Dukes, No. 662 להוי מחטרא בהד אמתא בחד מחטרא להוי.

¹ Cf. Ex. 24, 10 as heaven itself לְקָהָר for brightness.

whirlwinds in the South-country לְהִלּוֹף *for*, or *in respect of*, speeding up:’ the *nuance* of § 204 does not seem naturally to find place here.

206. This inf. also appears in continuation of a finite verb, the particular sense to be assigned to it being determined by the mood of that verb, but implying generally the presence of some aim or purpose:—Ex. 32, 29 וְלָתֵת (after the imper. מְלֵאֵי). Lev. 10, 10. 11; 1 Sam. 8, 12 וְלִשְׁבוֹם (after a fut.). 2 Chr. 7, 17. 30, 9 *and will be for* returning; Amos 8, 4 ye panters after the needy וְלִשְׁבִית *and* (that are) *for making* (or *would make*) to fail the poor of the land. Isa. 44, 28. 56, 6¹. Ps. 104, 21 (all after the ptcp.); Jer. 17, 10. 19, 12 (continuing אַעֲשֶׂה). 44, 14. 19; Ezek. 13, 22 וְלַחֲזֹק (continuing הַבוֹת). Job 34, 8 (Ew., Del.); Ps. 109, 16. Qoh. 9, 1 וְלִבְרוֹר (after וְנַתִּיתִי). Whether 1 Chr. 10, 13. Neh. 8, 13 belong here is doubtful².

Obs. Only once thus, of *past* time, in an earlier author, 1 Sam. 14, 21^b now the Hebrews had been to the Philistines as aforetime (cf. 2, 27. 19, 7. 2 Sam. 19, 29), in that they went up with them to the camp, וְגַם הָמָּה לֵהִיּוֹה and they also *were for being* with Israel. But the *v.* seems clearly meant to describe, not a purpose or preparation, but a fact; and though a sense of the former is evanescent in some of the passages where the inf. and ל is used by the Chronicler (§ 204), this must not be assumed as a matter of course in an early writer. In point of fact LXX. Vulg. for הָמָּה וְגַם כִּבְיָב read הָמָּה וְגַם כִּבְיָב (Targ. *adds* הָבּוּ); and this on the whole, though it involves the insertion of אֲשֶׁר after הַיְבֵרִים (of *ὄντες* LXX), seems preferable: ‘and the Hebrews, who were etc. . . ., *they also turned* (2 Sam. 3, 12) to be with Israel:’ cf. *v.* 22.

Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. p. 49) suggests that the infin. serves here *zur beschreibung der überraschenden that.*

¹ At least the accents and parallelism suggest that וְלֵאמֹר is the continuation of הַנְּלוּיִים rather than of לִשְׁרָחוּ.

² With §§ 202–206, comp. Ewald, 237^c, 295^f, 351^e.

207. Sometimes the ל introduces the inf. merely as the *object* of a verb:—Isa. 5, 2 (after ויקו). Qoh. 4, 17. Esth. 4, 13 think not *te evasuram esse*. 2 Sam. 18, 29. 1 Chr. 29, 17. Num. 20, 21 (עָבַר: more commonly with ל, 22, 13). Judg. 11, 20 (cf. Job 15, 22).

3. Order of Words.

208. The following illustrations of variations in the order of words (noted briefly by Ewald, § 309^a) may be useful:—(1) *Object, verb, subject*. This, the effect of which is to throw emphasis on the object, is fairly frequent; and examples from two or three books will be sufficient: 1 Sam. 2, 19 אחי שלח 15, 14. 15, 1. ומעיל קטן תעשה-לו אמו 7, 14. 17, 36. 25, 43. 28, 18^b. 19^b. 1 Ki. 14, 11. Isa. 6, 5^b. 9, 7. 26, 9^b. 40, 19. 64, 1. Ps. 11, 5^b. 139, 16 נלמי ראו 9, 7. עיניך Job 5, 2. 14, 19. 15, 30.

(2) *Object, subject, verb*. This is exceedingly rare, except with the participle, when it is the usual order:—2 Ki. 5, 13. Isa. 5, 17. 28, 17^b. Jer. 34, 5^b. 49, 11. Ps. 51, 5. Qoh. 12, 14: but with ptc., Gen. 37, 16 אחי אנכי 41, 9. מבקש Judg. 9, 36. 14, 4. 2 Ki. 6, 22. Jer. 1, 11. 7, 19 האתי הם מכעיסים 45, 4. 51, 6 al.

(3) *Subject, object, verb*. Here the subject is followed immediately by the object, with which it has no *direct* connexion; a break, often reflected in the accentuation, is thus produced, which by inviting a pause almost gives to the subject the prominence of a *casus pendens*: at the same time, in prose, a poetical colouring is conferred upon the phrase by the verb being transferred to the end:—Gen. 17, 9 ואתה בריתי תשמר 23, 6^b (איש לא יבלה) 7, 19 would have been a little dull). Judg. 17, 6. Lev. 7,

18^c. 21, 10 (allows stress to rest on ראשו and בגריו). 13. 26, 8. 1 Sam. 20, 20 וְאֵינִי. Isa. 3, 17. 11, 8^b. 13, 18. 17, 5. 26, 19. 30, 24. 32, 8 but the liberal man—he counselleth liberal things. Ezek. 18, 19. 27^b. 23, 25^b הִמָּה. 34, 19. 36, 7. Hos. 12, 11. Ps. 6, 10. 10, 14. 11, 5^a. 56, 7 הִמָּה. Jer. 32, 4^b. 2 Chr. 31, 6, which perhaps justifies the Mas. text of 2 Sam. 17, 27–29.

Obs. A tendency may often be observed in the Chaldee portions of Daniel and Ezra to throw the verb to the end. With the place of the *infm.* in Isa. 42, 24. 49, 6 וְנִצְרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַשִּׁיב comp. Deut. 28, 56 אֲשֶׁר לֹא נִסְחָה כִּף רִגְלָהּ הִצַּג. Judg. 9, 24 וּדְמַם לְשׁוֹם. Neh. 10, 37. Esth. 3, 13^b = 8, 11^b. 2 Chr. 31, 7. 10; and in Chaldee Ezra 4, 22 (שְׁלוֹ object to לְמַעַבְדֵּךְ). 5, 9. 13. Dan. 2, 16. 18. 3, 16 (פְּתוּחָם not connected with עַל דְּנָה, but the obj. to לְהַתְּבוֹתֶךָ: the order in Pesh. is similar). 4, 15 לֹא יִכְלִין פֶּשֶׁרָא לְהוֹרְעוֹתַי 5, 8. 15^b; 6, 5 seems rather to resemble Lev. 19, 9. 2 Sam. 11, 19. The so-called ‘periphrastic future’ has also commonly the same position (§ 204).

(4) *Verb, object, subject.* This order emphasizes, as Ewald says, the subject at the end:—Gen. 21, 7 הִינִיקָה 7 בניִם שְׂרָה. Num. 5, 23. 19, 7. 18. Judg. 12, 11. 13. 1 Sam. 15, 33. 1 Ki. 8, 63^b. 19, 10. Isa. 19, 13. Jer. 31, 2. 36, 9. 24. 48, 4. Jon. 3, 8. Ezek. 23, 47. Ps. 34, 22; otherwise rare, except when the object is the light pronominal אֲתוּ, אֲתָם, etc.; Ex. 12, 6. Jer. 3, 11 (נִבְשָׂה). 49, 16.

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